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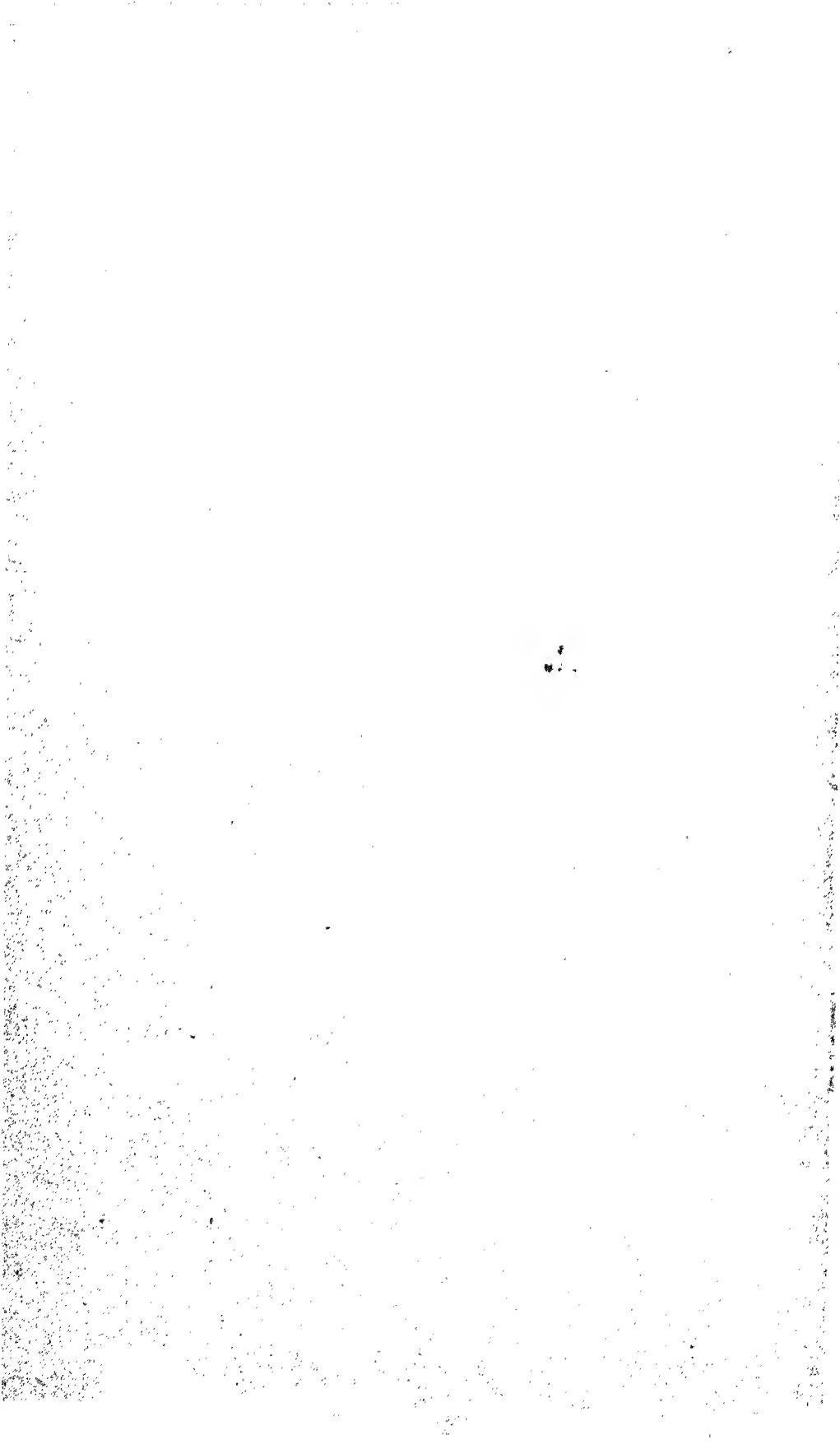
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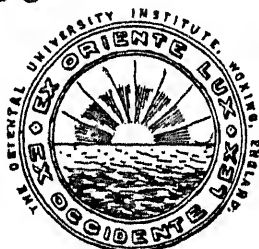


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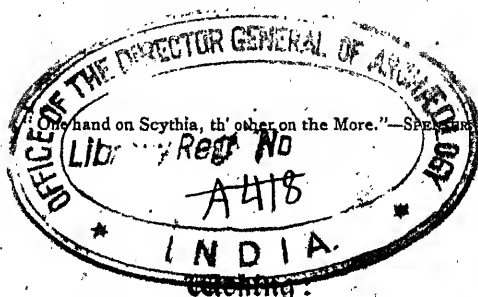
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THE IMPERIAL  
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JULY, 1905.

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THE RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT OF  
MYSORE.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

MANY years ago I was elected by the Board of the Mysore Gold-fields Railway Company to be their chairman ; and I have always been proud to remember that the colleagues who conferred on me this honour were men whose names have subsequently been writ large on the history of the development of Mysore—Sir Charles Tennant, Lord Ribblesdale, General Beresford, and others—whose enterprise and public spirit will ever be held in kindly regard by the people and the rulers of Mysore. In that capacity, and as an old friend of the late Maharaja and his able Prime Minister, the late Sir Sheshadri Iyer, I frequently visited Mysore in the old days, when the gold-mining there was in its infancy, and when the Mysore State had few resources outside her fairly prosperous agriculture, save only the struggling coffee industry of Kadur and the adjoining districts, and the products of her rich forests. Since then I have visited this highly-progressive State at not infrequent intervals, and have watched its steady development under the fostering care of the late and the present Maharaja, aided in succession by Sir Sheshadri Iyer and by Sir Krishna Murti, and by the wise counsels of a series of able

British Residents. And it is not too much to say that at the present time, although the country has of late years suffered sorely from those visitations of famine and plague that have devastated the Deccan, even more than most other parts of the peninsula, there is no other State or province of India, and hardly any other country in the world, that can be held to surpass Mysore in material or moral well-being.

For the advance of Mysore under its Indian-born rulers, loyally backed up by the representatives of the Imperial Government of India, has been equally marked on both the moral and the material side. In regard to the latter, the Dewan, Sir Krishna Murti, is able to point to an annual Budget that might be the envy of any Chancellor of the Exchequer in the world, whether we look to the satisfactory surpluses, or to the lightness of popular taxation, or to the elasticity of the revenue, or to the success and liberality of the public administration. And on the moral and intellectual side, the annual addresses of the Dewan to the Representative Assembly record such sure and rapid progress in education, in political enfranchisement, in social enlightenment, in sanitation, in judicial and police arrangements, in safeguards against famine and pestilence, in ease and rapidity of communication, and generally in all the appliances and amenities of social and political life, as amply to justify all the hopeful predictions of Lord Lytton at the time of the Rendition.

These annual addresses of the Dewan of Mysore have served many excellent purposes, besides being chronicles of the national progress. They have brought into strong light the wise solicitude of the Maharaja and His Highness's Government for the welfare of his subjects. They have brought the Government into closer and closer touch with the people, and have enabled both rulers and ruled to become better acquainted with each other's wishes, needs, and aspirations. They have also faithfully chronicled the general progress of "the model State," and shown observers

how this progress has been accomplished. In India this has produced wholesome emulation, as in the case of the neighbouring State of Travancore, where the Maharaja, aided by Mr. Madhava Rao—an able Dewan trained in the Mysore Administration—has introduced a Representative Assembly on the Mysore pattern. Whilst in Europe these addresses have obtained appreciative notices in the English press—as in such instructive articles as that contributed to the March number of the *Contemporary Review* by my old friend Mr. D. Boulger—and even the *Times* itself has on several occasions admitted to its columns letters on Mysore by myself and others interested in the welfare of the State, and has sometimes founded articles upon them, a gratifying indication of the growing interest of the British public.

The progress of Mysore has been a steady one along many different roads; but it may be admitted that of late years its most striking features have been in connection with the successful modern working of its ancient gold-mining industry, supplemented by the development of its railway communications and of its electric power resources.

The gold-bearing area in Mysore is of immense extent, and in character has been compared with the most productive gold-fields of the Transvaal, of Australia, and America, both for richness and for depth. The gigantic hoards of gold coin and bullion that were possessed in ancient times by Indian potentates, and that were treasured in Indian temples, were doubtless largely obtained from the surface-workings, of which the remains are still to be seen in various parts of the country at every outcrop of the auriferous reefs. Even down to modern times, surface-washing for gold has given employment to certain castes, such as the Jalagars, who have always been known as expert gold-diggers in Mysore, and not a few ancient place-names, such as Jalagargadda (Gold-diggers' Hill) and the like, have enshrined the memory of the mining operations of the ancient Mysoreans.

I believe that the resuscitation of the industry was largely

due to the explorations of such enterprising prospectors as Mr. David Lavelle, of Bangalore, who found that in many places the old surface-workings still yielded gold in payable quantities. But so long as operations were confined to the surface, which had already been assiduously worked for centuries by the old men until stopped by water and engineering difficulties, very few seem to have realized the immensity of the wealth to be obtained by following the lodes downwards. I believe that both General Beresford and Mr. Lavelle were of opinion from the very first that the geological formation and the surface-indications alike pointed to the probability of greater richness in depth; and when the Geological Survey of India appeared on the scene, and my old friend, Mr. R. B. Foote (an officer of that department, and a Fellow of the Geological Society) carried out a scientific examination, it soon became evident that the schists of Mysore were destined to become a very important source of the world's gold supply. Less than thirty years have elapsed since then. For various reasons, mainly connected with difficulties of railway communication, only one of the gold-fields indicated by Mr. Foote's report—the Kolár, which happened to be the nearest to the line of railway—has been largely exploited, leaving others perhaps equally rich to be still dealt with. And yet at this moment the annual output of the Kolár field is over 600,000 ounces of bar-gold, of the value of more than Rs. 350,00,000!

And in connection with this already vast development, not the least interesting fact, in view of future possibilities, is that in the Arsikere *táluq*, and in the districts of Chitaldrug and Tumkur, there are numerous ancient workings, even more extensive, and apparently not less rich in precious metal, than those that have already been exploited in Kolár with such splendid results. On this, the Dewan told us in his recent address:

“The Geological Survey was carried out in the Tumkur and Chitaldrug Districts, and resulted in the discovery and mapping of an entirely new belt of schists, extending along

the eastern side of the Chitaldrug belt for a distance of sixty miles, with a maximum width of eight miles, the rocks of which are in many respects similar to those of the Kolár Gold-field."

And it may be mentioned, as an instance of the keen intellect and remarkable foresight of the late Dewan, Sir Sheshadri Iyer, that, so long ago as the year 1887, he told me that in his opinion the gold deposits in some of the Arsikere reefs were at least equal to the best of those in Kolár. And only four or five years later—and before our American cousins had succeeded in "harnessing" the Falls of Niagara for electric-power purposes—Sir Sheshadri spoke to me with enthusiasm of the possibility of utilizing the water-power of the Cauvery Falls for electric, smelting, and other purposes, a project that has since been crowned with wonderful success.

The recent address of Sir Krishna Murti shows that the prosperity of the Kolár Gold-fields Railway, which has long been the property of the State, is now unbounded. In the year 1902-1903 its net earnings, under a liberal and far-sighted management, returned 6·73 per cent. on the capital outlay, and last year that very satisfactory return was increased to very nearly 7 per cent.

There is every reason to believe that a like good fortune will attend the other railways that will open up the other gold-fields of the country. Wherever the Geological Survey has shown that the gold deposits exist, probably in large quantities, there the railways will be both a source of considerable wealth in themselves, and also a harbinger of great mining prosperity. Although the Kolár Gold-field was nearer to the existing railway than any of the rival gold-fields, and owed its earlier development to that fact, still, the full tide of its prosperity did not come until after the opening of the Kolár Gold-fields Railway. As soon as the new railways are made through the other gold-bearing districts, it may be confidently predicted that along their courses the mines will be opened up as if by magic.



It is evident that both His Highness the Maharaja and Sir Krishna Murti are thoroughly in earnest as to the urgent need of still further opening up the railway communications, both in the State itself and with neighbouring Indian territory. Both the Madras Railway Company and the Southern Mahratta Railway Company have done and are doing much in this direction. The Mysore State itself is directly interested in not only the Gold-fields Railway, of which I have spoken, but also the lines between Mysore and Harihar, between Bangalore and Hindupur, between Mysore and Nanjangud, and between Birur and Shimoga. A light railway, to be made by a local company between Bangalore and Chikballapur, is viewed with much favour by His Highness' Government.

Of the projects for improved railway communication that still remain to be done, the one that was nearest the heart of the late Sir Sheshadri Iyer was one to run down the Ghats, and connect Arsikere and Hassan and the rest of Mysore with the Indian Ocean at Mangalore. Many years ago I was empowered by His Highness the late Maharaja to officially submit this scheme to the Governments of India and Madras, and at that time it was warmly approved by Lord Wenlock and also by Mr. Upcott, the distinguished railway expert, who was then at the head of the Public Works Department of Madras. Famine and other financial difficulties at that time stood in the way. But sooner or later this interesting line is sure to be made, and give the State of Mysore direct communication with the Indian Ocean, whilst it will afford the merchants of Mangalore and the Malabar Coast access to the country above the Ghats.

There has always been a considerable community of coffee-planters, both European and Indian born, located in the uplands of Mysore, and this industry, as well as every other in the country, will derive benefit from the enlightened and progressive railway policy of Sir Krishna Murti.

But the product of the future, that is now fairly certain

to be an important factor in the prosperity of the country, is evidently rubber ; and it is to the Dewan's encouragement of scientific research and experiment in agricultural matters that Mysore will be indebted for an industry that bids fair to eclipse all others in its lucrative character. For those researches and experiments have shown that there is no soil or climate in the world better suited for rubber cultivation, while everyone knows that during the last few years the commercial demand for rubber has far outstripped the supply. It has gone up by leaps and bounds, not merely for tyres and tubes, but as an adjunct to every form of modern machinery, and in many other forms of utility. And, further, this demand is so far-reaching and elastic that, the moment it is at all overtaken by increased cultivation, and the product falls at all in price, it is immediately sought after for use in other industries, so that the price is again restored. I believe that there are rubber plantations in Ceylon, hardly yet in full bearing, that already yield to their enterprising owners annual returns far in excess of the fee-simple value of the plantations and the cost of cultivation. There is every reason to expect similarly satisfactory returns to the industry in Mysore, a result that the country will owe to the foresight and courage of Sir Krishna Murti in ordering the researches and experiments already alluded to.

I have spoken of the "harnessing" of the falls of Cauvery for the purposes of electric power and electric lighting. This has already been accomplished on a grand scale for the use of the Kolár gold-fields ; and this year a second installation has come into working, and may be expected to give lighting and other conveniences to the cities of Bangalore and Mysore. But the whole country is one of mighty waterfalls, and, if one may judge from the recent history of Piedmont and other sub-Alpine manufacturing districts, the vast stores of water-power now running to waste are destined to be utilized as the great manufacturing agents of the future. As electricity gradually takes the place of

steam as motive-power, doubtless thousands of Mysore waterfalls are destined to be "harnessed" and turned to useful account, instead of running to waste, as hitherto.

I believe that next winter the popular and genial young ruler of this prosperous State will have the pleasure of entertaining their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales. The climate of Bangalore, and of all the uplands of the Mysore State, is more agreeable to the unacclimatized European constitution than almost any other part of India during the winter months. The hospitality of the Royal House of Mysore has always been proverbial, and it may confidently be predicted that in no part of the Empire will the Heir-Apparent to the Imperial Throne be received more worthily than in Mysore. Nowhere will the Imperial visitors see the elephant *keddah* in greater perfection or finer big game of every kind than in the Mysore jungles; while the scenery of the country is in many parts more striking than elsewhere in India, and the remains of antiquity are both abundant and interesting. The Winter Gardens at Seringapatam, the scene of Tipu's death, the Kolár gold-mines, the sandal-wood preserves, the sacred Amrita Mahal herds, the sacred hill of Chamundi, the numerous famous falls, the royal city of Mysore, the pleasant cantonment of Bangalore—these and a thousand other points of interest in the ancient kingdom of Mysore will certainly always recall pleasant memories to the Imperial visitors of the princely hospitality of the Maharaja.

In reference to the gold-mines, Dr. Smeeth, the learned Chief Inspector of mines in Mysore, issued in May a most valuable and interesting report on the Kolár mines. It shows that the total value of gold produced in 1903 was £2,284,072, being an increase of 6·27 per cent. for the year, while the ratio of increase in the preceding twelve months was 2·15 per cent. The royalty to the Mysore Government was £113,138, as against £97,365. Fourteen companies were at work, and of these five paid dividends, three produced gold but declared no dividends, and six were non-

producers. The total dividends paid during the year amounted to no less than 73·44 per cent. of the paid-up capital of the companies declaring dividends, or to 30·8 per cent. of the paid-up capital of all working companies. The corresponding figures of the previous year were 62·94 per cent. and 33½ per cent. Detailed comparison with the figures for the preceding five years shows that there has been a steady diminution in the cost of working.

## BALUCHISTAN AND ITS POSSIBILITIES.

BY C. E. D. BLACK.

DURING the last quarter of a century India has annexed a huge province, larger than the United Kingdom, but whose importance—political, strategical and economic—appears to have been not yet adequately appreciated. I refer, of course, to Baluchistan. Owing, however, to the abnormal conditions which have gradually brought this region under the Britannic ægis, it is even now administered in a fashion very different from the Native States of India, and still further removed from the organization of the regulation districts of India proper. An irregularly-shaped tract of country, including Chaman, Quetta, Sibi, and surrounding tracts, is leased from the Khan of Kelat, and called British Baluchistan; while the vast expanse lying all round this enclave, except on the north-west, or Afghan side, is under political control, with a military administration.

For administrative purposes the whole province, dependent, as well as independent, is divided into six political agencies, each presided over by a political agent or assistant. They are as follows:

- |                   |             |
|-------------------|-------------|
| 1. Quetta-Pishin. | 4. Loralai. |
| 2. Thal-Chotiali. | 5. Kelat.   |
| 3. Zhob.          | 6. Chagai.  |

The degree of independence enjoyed by the various districts of Baluchistan is said, with apparent truth, to vary in proportion to their distance from Quetta, the whole area being governed by the Agent to the Governor-General, who is supreme under the Foreign Department of the Viceroy's Government.

From a strategic point of view, Baluchistan undoubtedly merits close attention. In the Commons debate on the Army Estimates, as well as in a subsequent debate, the House appeared alive to the possibility of the Russo-

Japanese War resulting in increased activity being displayed by Russia against India. Indeed, it is obvious that, whatever the upshot of the present war may be, Russia's innate tendency to expand will not be finally repressed thereby. And even if this policy be effectually scotched as against Chi-li and Manchuria, it is all the more likely to seek an outlet with concentrated force in the direction of Persia and Afghanistan. Moreover, the Premier has told us that the problem of the British Army is the problem of the defence of the Afghan frontier; so we must in no wise overlook the existence of the flanking route through Seistan and Baluchistan, through which the Afghan defensive position might be turned, by an invading force from the north, coming by way of Eastern Khorassan.

Viewed in its general aspect, this country is certainly deserving of more scrutiny than it is receiving. In the *India List*, for instance, which devotes a good deal of space to full descriptions of the different provinces of India, nothing is said as to British Baluchistan, while its annual Administration Reports are little known at home, and the dry statistics they furnish convey but little profitable or suggestive information. If, therefore, I am correct in believing that in Baluchistan Great Britain possesses a domain of importance and wealth, it may be well to put together some of the more useful data, which at present are very scattered and not well known.

The province is a rough, oblong-shaped block of country abutting on the western land frontiers of India. Its prevailing features, as remarked by Mr. Hughes-Buller in his interesting report on the census of the province, are dry, rugged and barren mountains, arid deserts, and stony plains, redeemed wherever there is water by thin lines of cultivation, and occasional tree-clad mountains, affording welcome relief to the eye of the traveller, wearied with the incessant glare of the sun-baked rocks and long gravel-strewn valleys. To the west, in its northern tracts, it is even more sterile. The region recently traversed by the

Seistan Commission, and by previous explorers, is hideously barren. But, at the same time, Baluchistan generally, and especially those parts more remote from the Indian side, are still imperfectly surveyed. For many years I have studied the geography of this strange region, and the conclusion strongly forced upon my mind is, that a systematic examination of the hydrographic possibilities of Western Baluchistan might lead to a regeneration of districts at present unproductive and apparently hopeless. It is difficult to enlarge on this without a rather uninteresting discussion of streams and water-partings: the erratic direction of the Lower Helmand, its connection in past years with the God-i-Zirreh and the courses of the Mashkel, Rashkan and Dasht rivers—all these present a somewhat complicated hydrographic system, but, at the same time, are distinctly susceptible of connection, and by that means might be made to conduce to the regeneration of a large and important expanse of country.

It is about twenty-eight years since the late Sir Robert Sandeman, the founder of the Baluchistan Agency, first entered the country then known as Kelat or the dominions of the Khan of Kelat. To the Court of the Khan British residents had been deputed since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and British expeditions had passed through the Bolan on their way to Kandahar and Afghanistan; but in 1876 the country was practically independent, and little was known of the inhabitants. The Khan of Kelat had combined a heterogeneous mass of tribal units into a Brahui confederacy, the people themselves being cut off from intercourse with the outside world, and leading a nomadic existence among regions of extraordinary desolation. Their civilization was not only backward, but differed materially from those of their Indian neighbours. "In the course of more than a quarter of a century this primitive condition, though modified, has not disappeared, and barbarian prejudice and pugnacity are still factors which have to be constantly reckoned with."

Throughout the country nomadism is prevalent to a high degree. This is largely induced by the fact that cities cannot be built in the desert, and that the occasional oases where water and pasture are to be found do not admit of comfortable and permanent settlement. If the country were but fairly well watered, there would be no difficulty in converting the wandering tribesman to the settled life of a farmer. This was brought to the proof by the late General John Jacob fifty years ago, who first subjected the Baluch freebooters, and then settled them on the lands round about Jacobabad, which are irrigated from the Indus.

In the eastern and highland parts of the province permanent houses are required as a protection against the climate, and here the ruling characteristics of the valley are occasional groups of rude mud-built huts. In the cultivated tracts of Zhob and Thal-Chotiali one may see at intervals towers from 15 to 20 feet in height, with a small aperture for an entrance about 6 feet above the ground. They are a relic of the turbulent past preceding the advent of the British. A walled village was then a necessity as a refuge in the time of trouble. In the corners of the fields, too, the tribesman would erect towers, and on the approach of a raiding party he would fly thither, leaving his cattle to the mercy of the enemy. Nowadays, though, the ancient strongholds are mostly deserted, and the cultivators have returned to a semi-nomadic existence.

This is a curious characteristic, and not very easy to account for, except on the theory that the native has a more or less rooted dislike to cultivation in any form. As Mr. Hughes-Buller (to whose writings I am largely indebted for information) points out, with large garrisons scattered throughout the country there is a ready market for everything the cultivator can grow. This naturally acts as a strong incentive to many of the cultivators, who congregate in small groups wherever irrigable land is available for cultivation.



Like many other regions of Asia, especially those with imperfect drainage seawards, it is marked by extremes of heat and cold. A native proverb says that after the Almighty had created Sibi and Dadhur, there was no need to have created hell, so intense is the heat during eight months of the year in those localities. On the other hand, the cold on the plateau between Quetta and Pishin is very severe in winter.

The aspect of the ranges through which the railway goes up towards Quetta has been characteristically described by Lady Dufferin :

"The country is so unlike anything you have ever seen. The whole is absolutely barren, and it looks like a great storehouse of the earth's materials, rather than a finished portion of our world. There are piles of rock, and piles of sand, and piles of gravel, and piles of mud, ready, as it were, to the Creator's hand, but not yet used up. All is the same colour, and none of the prettinesses of life have any place here. There are no trees, no grass, no flowers."

The area may be described as 132,315 square miles of mountains, intersected by large strips of sandy desert, narrow valleys, and tiny glens. In the western part of the province the general trend of the mountains is easterly, but soon they commence to curve northwards, eventually merging in the parallel ranges of the Sulimans, which run north and south. The general slope of Baluchistan is from the western deserts of Kharan and Sinjarani, and from the sea-coast on the south to the highest level in the lofty tableland in the north-east beyond Kelat. Here the valleys are between 5,000 and 7,000 feet above sea-level, while the surrounding mountains rise to about 10,000 or 12,000 feet. On the north the plains converge in the Takht-i-Suliman, a well-known peak in the north-east of the Zhob Valley. The story goes that Solomon once stood on its summit, and from thence, in the company of his Indian bride, surveyed the kingdoms of India. It is also the traditional home of the Afghans or Pathans.

The area of Baluchistan is larger than that of the British Isles (121,377 square miles), and is only a little less than

that of the Japanese Empire, which, without Formosa, covers 147,655 square miles. But the estimated population is only 1,049,808, or eleven persons per square mile for the area actually censused. The main reason of this scanty population is undoubtedly to be found in the lack of water. Throughout Baluchistan the rainfall is exceedingly irregular and scanty, the largest average amount of annual rainfall being  $12\frac{1}{2}$  inches at Shahrig, while as one proceeds westwards the climate is considerably drier. Where a village has sprung up in consequence of the presence of a sufficient quantity of water for purposes of cultivation, the number of the population is limited not by the amount of land, but by the amount of water available for distribution. There are no large rivers, and the cultivators are dependent on the supply from underground channels or *karezes* (the Persian *kanât*), which in no case are more than enough to irrigate a modest extent of land.

The extraordinarily vivifying effect of irrigation even in tracts of exceptional sterility is seen along the Helmand River. Sir Thomas Holdich described them some years ago as covered with

“almost endless stretches of old ruins along the banks of that river. These ruins (he continued) extend all over Seistan. They mark the remains of old flourishing towns and cities of past times, and, together with the numerous traces of old canals leading from the Helmand River, prove the existence in some past age of extensive civilization and of a very large population.”

Seistan (the ancient Drangia) itself was one of the principal granaries of the world, as late as in the flourishing days of Arab ascendancy in these parts. The question suggests itself, How was the produce of this region exported? Sir Thomas Holdich is of opinion that the trade, now represented by a few dozen kafilas which ply between Seistan and the port of Tiz on the Makran coast, was then of far larger dimensions, and that Tiz, as the place was even then called, was the regular port and ocean outlet for the commerce of the entire hinterland. It is a

convenient harbour nowadays, as the monsoon winds do not affect the coast so far west, and Tiz must thus have been equally easy to gain at times when the Indus delta was unapproachable.

In addition to this, a large proportion of the trade was conveyed landwise to India. For though Alexander and his troops nearly perished on their westward journey through ignorance of the geography of Southern Baluchistan, later explorers soon discovered that the true land route from Europe to India lay through this region. Under Arab rule practical steps were taken to maintain the route, and good roads, walls, and proper stages and forts were kept in order. In fact, writers conversant with the subject are of opinion that this highway to India was one of the best-trodden trade routes that the world has ever seen.

But the discovery of a sea route to India and the explorations of the Portuguese caused the Baluch road to fall into disuse, and now it is a matter of some difficulty to fix the alignment of the best and most practicable land route to India from the West. But, after all, this is a mere question of systematic exploration. It does not even necessitate exhaustive survey in the sense of mapping out the whole country in detail. It only wants certain known lines of approach to be carefully examined, so as to determine which is the best line of communication between the Persian Gulf and the Indian frontier, whether for commercial, political, or strategical purposes. The utilization of old highways of commerce is a sound administrative maxim, and nowhere does this apply with more practical truth than in Asia, that grand old continent where the wisdom of the ancients may be traced wherever you pass and bestow due heed on the monuments that meet the eye.

Major Yate tells us that it is quite on the cards that the through railway from Europe to India may thread the valleys of Makran, and I must say I have always been

persuaded of the truth of this anticipation, which the trend of events seems to corroborate more and more. What these valleys are like in the northern parts may be gathered from Captain McMahon's description a few years ago :

“ Refreshing green oases—sometimes in the form of green wooded valleys, with rippling streams of pure water ; sometimes in forest lands along the high mountain-tops ; sometimes in the form of extensive tracts of rich cultivation in wide valleys and plains—break the monotony of the vast wastes around, and afford a relief to the eye and a pleasure to the senses which none but travellers in that country can fully realize. Then, again, the clear, dry, sparkling atmosphere, the deep blue cloudless skies of the greater part of the year, and the almost boundless horizon, produce feelings of exhilaration and a sense of freedom which go far to make up for the shortcomings of the country. Last, but not least, we find the inhabitants a fine manly race, whose love of independence is as rugged as their hills, and whose stubborn bravery is unquestionable. With fair complexions and splendid physique, they form for the most part a magnificent race of men.”

As to mineral wealth very little is known, generally speaking, except by those actually concerned in the task of the government of Baluchistan. Therefore it is important to note what one expert, an officer in charge of a district 20,000 square miles in area, tells me. He writes :

“ Baluchistan produces coal (burnt in the form of bricks) of poor quality, but in fair quantities, asbestos, sulphur, antimony, lead, copper (my district has numerous old workings in various parts), saltpetre, and iron, the latter in considerable quantities, for it is also found in a highly divided state in the desert sands. The difficulty is, of course, want of fuel on the spot, and this is one which will not easily be surmounted. The Afghans work gold a few miles from Candahar, and the geological formation in which the gold is found is identical with formations which occur on our side of the frontier. Added to this, there are legends that gold was extensively worked in Seistan, but the veins were lost in an earthquake which devastated the country some generations back.”

I am told on good authority that the oil wells of the Zhob and Hurnai valleys are deserving of more systematic exploitation by professional experts than has been bestowed on them in the past. Silk, again, is a manufacture of decided promise, the mulberry-tree being plentiful in various parts of Baluchistan, and the silk recently produced at Kelat being of exceptionally good quality. There seems

also to be a great opportunity for the extended cultivation of fruit trees in Quetta and the neighbouring villages, the apricots especially being excellent, but not grown to anything like the fullest extent.

Viewing the opportunities of this country in their general aspect, one cannot help being struck with the possibilities of development and improvement. As Major Yate truly says: "Baluchistan is a land of promise, which will play no unimportant part in the future history of our Indian Empire." Hitherto we have contented ourselves with exercising the slenderest and lightest political sway over its spare and rude populace. But something in the nature of those statistical surveys which have been so successfully applied to nearly every part of British India seems to be urgently needed in the case of Baluchistan. Its resources—minerals, fauna, vegetation—and, above all, its capabilities of irrigation and afforestation,\* demand the most careful examination and exploitation at the hand of experts. What the medieval Arabs and other more obscure nationalities have effected in the past in this apparently unproductive land can assuredly be restored, if not surpassed, by Englishmen, and few measures would redound more to the credit of the Viceroy than a well-considered scheme for the revivification of a country whose extent, whose comparative recent acquisition, and whose possibilities, as we can gather from the fragmentary knowledge we possess, so urgently demand attention with promise of return.

\* I believe an irrigation expert was deputed to Baluchistan some four years ago, but that his efforts were restricted for want of funds. As regards afforestation, it is worth bearing in mind that the heads of the Brahui confederacy are chiefs in receipt of monthly pay from Government. Through the medium of these chiefs, thousands of trees could be yearly planted at a nominal cost. The effect of such steps on the rainfall might be most important, for everything points to the fact that at a period not so long since the rainfall was far more plentiful than it is nowadays.

## THE BENEFITS OF INLAND NAVIGATION.

BY GENERAL J. F. FISCHER, R.E.

WE propose in this article to draw the attention of the Indian public to the value and importance of this subject afresh, as it is now being very seriously considered, not only in England, but on the Continent and in the United States of America and Canada. More than half a century ago Sir A. Cotton, R.E., endeavoured to make this matter clear to the public in India, and now that it is proposed to develop the industrial resources of India by some better methods than merely collecting land revenue by the ancient Mamools of the country, which have failed so lamentably in every instance, during more than twenty centuries, in promoting the welfare and progress of the populations here, it is, perhaps, a very fit time to show how a country can be made as prosperous as possible by securing for it the *cheapest* means of transport, without incurring any great cost or burdening it with an enormous debt.

In the *Contemporary Review* for December, 1904, there is an article on "The Lesson of the German Water-ways," which furnishes us with ample data, from actual experience, which just suits our purpose; and we propose to make full use of the abundant information this article supplies us with, and we trust it will be accepted by all classes in India, for there is no prejudice on one side or the other. The writer shows very clearly how Germany has, during the past quarter of a century, secured for herself a most commanding position for all her industries in *all* the markets of the world by simply attending most carefully to "inland water-ways," and so reducing the cost of transport, in spite of many natural obstacles, that she can defy the competition of the most wealthy countries; and whilst England has been worrying herself about Protection and Preferential Tariffs *ad nauseam*, and to no purpose what-

ever, Germany has not troubled herself at all about such fruitless speculations, but has worked out for herself the best systems for enabling all her industries to secure the greatest profits, and so reducing the cost of production to a minimum—by means of cheap transport alone. She has not neglected her railway systems; on the contrary, by relieving them as much as possible of non-paying heavy goods traffic, her railways are perhaps the most economically and profitably worked of any lines in the world. In England and in India, too, we have throttled our canals in order to give a monopoly of the traffic to the railways, with the result that Germany can “dump” her products on to the English home markets, to the ruin and prejudice of her industries; and in India by this policy we are throwing the land out of cultivation and losing the Government revenues, as in the Godavery and Kistna Deltas, for instance.

Before proceeding with any further details of the German system for promoting water-ways, we extract the following from the *Madras Mail* of March 2, 1905, just to hand:

“The Canal Bill, which was passed in the Prussian Diet on the 9th ultimo, is from several different aspects a very important measure. It provides among other points for a short canal to Berlin from the Baltic port of Stettin, which will practically make the German capital a seaport; and the manifold extension of the inland navigation system will bring about a general increase of trade in industrial and agricultural products over vast areas of Germany, Russia, and Austria. The strategic aspect of these new water-ways is also fully taken into account by the Government, to whose initiation the Bill is due.”

Whilst in England we are being told on every platform to *think imperially*, and never told how to do so, as the leaders of the party which professes this marvellous doctrine declare they themselves have unsettled convictions on any subject whatever, the Prussian Diet, with their sound, practical common-sense, institute measures for

large systems of water-ways to secure *the greatest profits* for all industrial and agricultural products over vast areas of country, and *at the same time* to add enormously to the strategic aspect of all such public works in case of war !

It is generally admitted that the real cause why Germany is now able to compete against Great Britain so successfully is because she enjoys cheaper transport facilities. The natural conditions for cheap transport in Great Britain and Germany are indeed totally and absolutely different, but this difference is by no means in favour of Germany. On the contrary, it is all in favour of England, and so much so that, if the transport system were properly arranged and managed, Germany would be utterly unable to compete industrially against Great Britain. A glance at the map of Europe will prove this assertion to be true, and will show very clearly the fundamental difference existing between these two countries as regards cheap transport.

It is estimated that the German industries as a whole are carried on at an average distance of *more than 200 miles* from their harbours. Looking at the matter in this way for England, her industries are carried on as a rule not further than ten, twenty, or thirty miles away from the sea, and the greatest distance is but sixty miles in a straight line ; consequently, all exports and imports in Germany have to travel a distance which is from eight to ten times greater than it is in Great Britain. Evidently the German army (industrial) has to fight far away from its base, and its lines of communication are excessively long. Hence it is absolutely clear that England possesses every advantage in its favour except cheap means of transport, and no Protection or Preferential Tariffs can by any possibility secure for her those means of transport on which her prosperity in commercial enterprise entirely depends. Industrial Germany suffers not only from the length of her means of transport, but also from the severity of her climate, which greatly impedes the traffic on water-ways—by frost in the



winter months; in summer heavy floods are caused in all the rivers by the melting of the snows on the mountains; but nothing has been allowed to prevent the securing the cheapest means of transport by water for the benefit of all employed in industrial pursuits. How different is the policy pursued in India! Only the other day the *Pioneer*, one of the most influential papers in that country, declared that, because the large rivers in Southern India are not supplied from any snowy ranges, nothing could be done with them in the way of productive works, although all these great rivers are most abundantly supplied with water by the same tropical rains as the Nile is; and we have records regularly kept at the anikuts for more than half a century, showing how superabundant the water-supply in all these rivers actually is, running waste into the sea every year without fail! Whilst the Nile basin is being provided with gigantic reservoirs to secure as much water as possible for the use of man and beast during the hot weather months, we are actually assured that the same measures cannot be applied to the rivers of Southern India, which are fed with water in exactly the same manner as the Nile is; and in October, 1903, a flood actually prevailed in the Kistna River, discharging two and a half times as much water as the Nile discharges at Cairo in floods.

The *Pioneer* apparently takes its cue from the report of the Irrigation Commission, which declares the Godavery River, though better supplied than the Kistna, could not be practically utilized for irrigation purposes, because, as the Commission alleged, and which the *Pioneer* omits to notice, the *zemindari tenure* of land prevails in the Central Provinces, and on account of this most vicious system of land tenure a basin having an area of 120,000 square miles of very fertile land, with an abundant rainfall of about 50 inches in the year, and a population of over 120 to the square mile, is to be permanently deprived of all good hydraulic works, and *means of cheap transport* to the only safe and accessible port along the whole Coromandel coast, in order to maintain

a caste system which the Government of India have condemned in no measured terms in Bundelkhand. How differently the Germans act under similar circumstances we will now proceed to relate. Whilst England has been devoting all her energies to the railways and neglecting her former splendid canal systems, Germany has been learning from our past experience how to become a great industrial nation. She has copied us in many ways, but she has by no means blindly followed us in everything. She has refused to adopt Free Trade (luckily for us), notwithstanding its having been vigorously advocated in Germany; she has declined to hand over her productive industries to the tender mercies of the railway monopolists, and has thus preserved her agriculture from ruin by excessive cost of transport, by firmly maintaining her canal system to secure the cheapest means of transport for its raw products of great bulk and little value; this she learnt from Great Britain, where agriculture has been almost entirely ruined and sacrificed in the interests of the railway companies. Germany recognised the importance of cheap transport, and of having an alternative transport system which, by wholesome competition, would prevent all monopolizing practices, and has therefore steadily extended, enlarged, and improved all her natural and artificial water-ways, and keeps on extending and improving these year by year. Hence we have the unique spectacle of a Government sinking immense sums on inland navigation, notwithstanding the certainty that these will prove exceedingly able competitors against the State railways, well knowing that by establishing the cheapest means of transport they are relieving the entire industrial community from a most onerous burden of taxation, which, of course, promotes every industry in the country, enables capital to be accumulated, and encourages enterprise for its further employment.

In India, on the contrary, we have stopped all works for improving the rivers for navigable purposes to favour the railways, but increasing the burden of taxation, notably in the

case of the Godavery River navigation works ; and even in the Deltas we have increased the tolls on all the canals by some 400 per cent. for the benefit of the railways, and thereby thrown thousands of acres of land out of cultivation, with heavy loss of revenue to the State.

Germany possesses also big rivers, but until a recent period these were entirely neglected, being natural water-ways with unevenly deep and shallow beds. Large vessels could not be used on them ; their soft natural banks prevented vessels going at any high speed. Now, the larger a vessel is, and the greater the speed at which it can be worked, *the cheaper* is the cost of transport, for time is money everywhere but in the dull and stupid East. Recognising the enormous importance of these facts, Germany set to work to regulate her natural rivers, and to convert them into artificial water-courses of that type which has been found most fit for economical rapid navigation. With this object in view, the natural earth-banks of rivers and canals were replaced by solid masonry walls ; the river-beds were narrowed and deepened, so as to allow the use of large boats ; the rocks, which in many parts—for instance, in the Rhine at Bingen—were a danger to navigation, were blasted away, and provision was made to prevent the ice forming during severe winters, and closing streams and canals to navigation. This last provision is not required in India, to the great discomfort of all peoples working in that thirsty land. Within reach of all inland navigation in Germany, numerous well-equipped harbours and quays have been built by all the towns, and gradually all the more important German water-ways were greatly perfected and improved as channels for commercial navigation. On the regulation of the river-bed of the Rhine *alone* more than £1,000,000 has been expended during the last twenty years, and in consequence of these energetic measures for deepening the channels of that river, Cologne, which in a straight line is situated about 150 miles from the sea, *has become a seaport*, inasmuch as thirty-four

steamers, specially built for the purpose, trade now *regularly* between Cologne and various harbours in England, Scandinavia, and Russia. High up the Rhine, 300 miles inland, lies Strasburg. Formerly this town could be reached by only the smallest river-craft, but now boats carrying 600 tons are going to and from Cologne and Strasburg, and enormous sums have been spent facilitating the landing and unloading of all boats.

The tributary streams of the Rhine have also been very greatly improved. For instance, the Main, originally a shallow stream with a depth of only  $2\frac{3}{4}$  feet, and therefore useless for shipping, has had its depth increased to no less than  $8\frac{1}{4}$  feet for a distance of twenty miles upstream, at a cost of £400,000, or £20,000 per mile, in order to afford the industries of Frankfort the benefits of cheap transport by water, and the same steamers which travel on the Rhine now go up to Frankfort. Other towns on or near the Rhine are vying with one another in tapping that stream exactly as Frankfort has done, to secure the same benefits regardless of cost. Crefeld and Carlsruhe, which are at some distance from the Rhine, have dug canals to that stream to secure the same beneficial results. Ten or fifteen years ago wheat was carried laboriously on men's shoulders; *now* large ships filled with wheat in bulk are unloaded by suction in a few hours, and the grain is automatically weighed whilst being whisked from steamer to store, or put into sacks at an incredibly high speed by machinery and dropped into railway-trucks. Electricity is largely used in these inland harbours, and some of them are perhaps the best equipped harbours in the world.

Formerly the Rhine was chiefly celebrated for its ruined castles and romantic scenery; now its whole character has been most completely changed, and its greatest interest lies in the fact that the river has been made to be, perhaps, the most perfect water-way in the world for the promotion of all industries, and everywhere in Germany water transport is being developed with the utmost vigour and

energy. On all rivers and canals the development of water transport is becoming a passion with the German business community for the promotion of commercial and industrial activities. It is the greatest of delusions to imagine Germany has secured for herself this great supremacy in trade by some crude methods of Protection or Preferential Tariffs; they have been far too wide awake to waste their time and means in agitating these various crotchets on every platform, and abusing Cobden and his school to ignorant auditors. The Germans, with their strong, practical common-sense, have adopted and carried out the principles of Adam Smith as laid down in the "Wealth of Nations"; by a good system of education, discarding the crude ideas of a selfish priestcraft, they have developed the skill, dexterity, and judgment of the whole labouring population, and are taking steps to promote these to the utmost year by year. At the same time they have secured for all industries the cheapest means of transport to all the markets of the world for their products at the right time, thereby relieving the whole community of a heavy burden in securing the profits of its industries, and not by favouring any particular interests or monopolists at the expense of the public.

The outcry raised in England against Germany is, perhaps, the greatest tribute we can pay them for their shrewdness and business capacity. We have the same opportunities, and the same guidance in Adam Smith's great work, and these we neglected in order to talk nonsense about "thinking imperially"; and having no settled convictions about anything, it is no wonder, then, the Germans have overtaken us in the race for all commercial enterprises, and threaten to leave us far behind in a short time, for all the tariffs which the wit of man can invent cannot possibly prevent Germany taking a foremost place in the commerce of the world. The only possible way to rival her is to follow the methods she has copied from us, and waste no more time about it. We have shown above

what has been effected for a river like the Rhine, at almost reckless cost, to secure so great a boon for the whole community as cheap means of transport by water, though the obstacles were very great and serious owing to climatic influences. Here in India we have totally neglected all such river improvements, and in the case of the Godavery, where we had every means for making that river navigable for 400 miles inland and improving all its tributaries, all the works have been abandoned for years to please one Chief Commissioner! and the Central Provinces have in consequence been subjected to the most awful famines yet recorded in the annals of this great country.

Let us briefly consider some of the advantages which Germany has secured for all her industries by attention to transport by water. It appears that a large iron barge capable of carrying 2,000 tons costs only £5,000, of the type in use on the Rhine; a German railway-waggon of 10 tons capacity costs £125: it would require, then, 200 waggons to convey the same quantity of goods as one barge now does; the cost of these would be £25,000. A goods train conveys about 250 tons; it would therefore require eight trains to convey as much as one barge is capable of doing, and to these trains one engine at least must be attached: the cost of these engines, at a moderate estimate, is £2,500 each, and would amount to £20,000. From the above figures it would appear that, for providing the means of transport by river, the cost is £5,000, and by railway £45,000, or, in other words, it costs nine times as much to carry goods by railways as it does by improved means of water transport.

It cannot be said that any great advantage is gained in speed on the railways so far as heavy goods traffic is concerned; the average speed for goods trains is said to be only three miles an hour, and in India it is certainly not more. On any good broad canals or improved rivers, having the banks properly protected, this could be easily attained by manual labour, and if steam were used the

average rate might be ten miles an hour, for there would be no occasion to stop the traffic on any account whatever. On railways the stations soon become very congested if the traffic is at all heavy, and great delays occur on this account. In the case of water transport these are all very easily avoided. It is alleged that the locks on canals cause great delay, but this is quite a mistake. On the Godavery canals the new locks are all so arranged that a boat can be easily passed through, up or down, in a couple of minutes, and the boats are not liable to be knocked about at all; in fact, the passage through any of these locks is as smooth as through a pond, and the same principle can be readily applied to locks of the largest dimensions.

The cost of traffic on the German canals appears to vary from  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{24}$  of a penny per ton per mile; on their improved rivers these appear to vary from  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{6}$  of a penny per ton per mile. These rates are moderate enough when compared with railway rates even in Prussia, where the railways are worked cheaper, perhaps, than in any other countries of Europe; but, still, they are not so moderate as on the Aire and Calder Navigation, where they carry coal at the rate of less than  $\frac{1}{100}$  of a penny per ton per mile! In India the canals have actually been most heavily taxed in order to get the traffic on to the railways, so very enlightened is all economic science in that country! The Germans have learnt by an experience of over twenty years that it is far more economical to use large boats in place of small ones for all navigable purposes. The average tonnage of a boat in use on their canals in 1882 was about 88 tons; but in 1902 the average was about 200 tons, and it has been found by actual experience that the cost of transport is reduced by 50 per cent. by making their waterways deeper and broader, so as to employ larger boats on them.

In Germany they had great difficulties to contend with in making their rivers navigable. The Rhine may often be seen so low that ships and boats have to lie up for lack

of water; and, again, when the snow melts in the Alps that river is often so much swollen that it is like a raging torrent, and navigation is impossible. Nearly every winter the Rhine and the Elbe are so full of floating blocks of ice that navigation has to be suspended. In spite of all such natural obstacles, the rivers have been made navigable at all cost to secure the great advantages of the cheapest means of transport for all industrial products, and the results we feel pretty keenly nowadays by the great success of Germany in trade in competition with ourselves.

In India, when it was proposed to make the Godavery navigable for 400 miles inland, for which purpose there is an abundance of water which can be easily stored in large reservoirs and so regulate the supply of water in all seasons, the project was condemned and abandoned, and it was actually argued that the natural outlet for those provinces was by railway to Bombay over the Western Ghats, thereby increasing the cost of transport from about 15s. to £5 or £6 a ton for all products in general. It would require a pair of Sam Weller's patent double million magnifying gas microscopes of extra power to see how the industries of any country can be developed and promoted by increasing the cost of transport tenfold or more; it does indeed require a *natural* to argue in this manner.

The policy of the German Government in regard to her water-ways has been very clearly stated in an official publication: "Any means whereby distances which separate the economic centres of the country from one another can be diminished must be welcomed and considered as a progress, for it increases our strength in our industrial competition with foreign countries. Everyone who desires to send or to receive goods wishes for *cheap freights*. Hence the aim of a healthy transport policy should be to diminish, as far as possible, *the economically unproductive cost of transport* in a country such as Germany, which is happy enough to produce on its own soil by far the larger



part of the raw material and food which it requires, and occupies the most independent and the most favourable position of all. *Owing to cheap inland transportation*, its economic centres are placed as near as possible to one another. When this has been achieved, Germany will be able to dispense with many foreign products, and it will occupy a position of superiority in comparison with all those states which do not possess similarly perfect means of cheap transport. Many circumstances which in former times gave superiority to certain countries—such as the greater skill of their workmen, superior machinery, cheaper wages, greater fertility of the soil—are gradually being levelled down by time and progress. But what will remain is the advantage of a well-planned system of transportation which makes the best possible use of local reservoirs and local advantages. It is to this that *England owes*, to a large extent, her unique position for commercial exchange with other countries."

Germany is by no means the only country in which the greatest attention is being paid to the improvement of water-ways. According to *Indian Engineering* of February 25, 1905, every country in Europe is expending large sums to secure these cheap means of transport. Even in Russia, where the climate is naturally most unfavourable, water-ways are being established and improved at very great cost. The same kind of thing is proceeding in Canada, and for the United States no figures are given, because the "enormous sums spent yearly by the Government in improving rivers and in making canals are too well known for it to be necessary to more than mention the fact." The results generally are that in all these countries there is a steady growth in export, showing very clearly that by our neglect in this matter our exports are not increasing in anything like the same proportion. Adam Smith says very justly (book i., chap. vi.): "The whole price of every commodity must still finally resolve itself into some one or other or all of those *three parts*, as

whatever part of it remains after paying the rent of the land, and the price of the whole labour employed in raising, manufacturing, and bringing it to market, must necessarily be *profit* to somebody"; and this explains very clearly why it is that those countries which have adopted the cheapest means of bringing products to markets are able to undersell us in our home markets *at a profit*. It is absurd to suppose these countries sell their products at less than cost price in our markets. Such a proceeding must soon end in bankruptcy, whereas we have every evidence to show that by their cheap means of transport they can easily undersell us in all markets, and make a very handsome profit for themselves. Some figures given in *Indian Engineering* of February 18, 1905, show the *increase* of manufactured exports as effected by improvements in cheap means of transport. Taking the increase in twenty years in the United Kingdom at 1 per cent., the increases in France, Germany, and the United States are given respectively at 15, 38, and 135 per cent. ! As a comment on this state of affairs, we learn that in 1895 the cost of freight charges for carrying a ton 100 miles stood in the United Kingdom at 174 pence, whilst in France, Germany, and the United States, it stood respectively at 68, 64, and 47 pence. Incredible as the figures may seem, they are given on the authority of Mulhall, and what is probable is that the startling disparity has been made more startling in the intervening years."

That these figures are not far from the truth we will now endeavour to show by some statistics in round numbers, and by comparing railway freights with the probable cost on water-ways. For our purpose we take the goods traffic on railways in the United Kingdom, amounting to 400,000,000 tons a year, and the revenue derived from it to be £52,000,000, at the rate of about 2s. 6d. a ton. As the load in Germany averages three times more than it does in England, and by their water-ways they can convey a ton of goods for about one-fifth the cost of

transport in England, there is no reason why in England, if her water-ways had been maintained in good working order, all this traffic should not be done for about £10,000,000, thereby saving the country over £40,000,000 in conveying its products to market. That this is no mere visionary idea is proved very clearly by the fact that since the opening of the Manchester Ship Canal the railways have been obliged to reduce their freight charges by over 50 per cent., and on the Aire and Calder Navigation, by adapting it to transport by steam-barges, the cost of conveying a ton of coal has been reduced to less than  $\frac{1}{100}$  of a penny a ton per mile. As any saving in the cost of transport must necessarily go to enhance rents or profits, it is no wonder, then, why Germany and all other countries which have secured for themselves the cheapest means of transport by water-ways, are able to compete most successfully against us in all the markets of the world. To say that these countries dump their goods down in our markets at less than the cost price of production, and are at the same time progressing in all industries in the most thriving manner, is, to say the least of it, sheer nonsense. If England is falling behind in trade, it is not because she has adopted Free Trade, but because we have allowed the railways to secure a monopoly for themselves at the expense of the whole community, much in the same way as the Corn Laws did for the landlords.

In England we have spent close upon £1,200,000,000 on the railways; in Germany they have not spent £50,000,000 in improving their water-ways, and have secured for themselves access to all the markets of the world for all their products, at a rate which is driving us out of all markets; and all this has been effected for less than one-twentieth of the capital we have expended on the railways. All the Preferential Tariffs or Retaliation we may adopt cannot by any possibility enable us to compete successfully against the foreigners, who know how to husband their capital and apply it to most useful purposes

for the benefits of the whole community, whilst we waste our resources in maintaining a monopoly which is costing the country unnecessarily over £40,000,000 a year. The income-tax at 1s. in the £ yields about £30,000,000. If the cost of goods traffic in England was reduced by water-ways to the rates prevailing in Germany, France, or the United States, the saving to the country would be equivalent to taking off the income-tax altogether and the tea duty.

Disastrous as our economic policy has been at home in reference to this subject of cheap transport for goods traffic, it is a mere bagatelle in comparison with the ruin, misery and desolation it has caused in India. That country has been run into debt amounting to about £300,000,000, chiefly on account of the railways, and has now to pay England £9,000,000 a year as interest on this debt. It is admitted on all hands the railways do not pay in India; an expert has reported to the Government that the freight charges are over 80 per cent. too high for the industrial condition of the country; they have established no new industries in the country, and have not added a farthing to the value of real estate, and the bazaar rates for lending money have been more than doubled since their introduction, and in order to carry out this policy this country has been deprived of a good water-supply on which its very existence is entirely dependent. In the face of such facts as these, the people in England are told the benefits the railways have conferred in India are simply incalculable! It does indeed require the assurance of a Montague Tigg to palm off on the public such speculations, and if the public at home accept them without proper inquiry, it is no wonder they listen to such nostrums as thinking imperially. Protective duties for our industries, and to philosophical doubts about the degree of distinction, there may be—"tweedledum and tweedledee." In the meantime France, Germany, and many other States, are quietly working out those means which are undermining and sapping

us all round, and we actually think we can protect ourselves by a Chinese wall daubed with untempered mortar, very much like the Hindu systems of collecting land revenue, in which the only two possible methods of enhancing the products of the earth both in quantity and value have been always ignored in all ages. We have adopted the systems without any thought or careful investigation, and are reaping the consequence in the utter stagnation and deplorable poverty of the whole population.

It is difficult to understand this matter otherwise than as a just judgment of God for our deliberate neglect of His Word, for He has told us by His Holy Spirit that "he that ruleth over man *must* be just, ruling in the fear of the Lord God Almighty." And, like Pharaoh, we have asked in the most presumptuous manner, "Who is the Lord, that I should obey His word?" and He has left us to follow blindly the dictates of the most depraved priestcraft, the most debasing superstition the world has ever seen or heard of, in such mean subserviency that one's face is covered with shame and confusion as the results come before us year after year.

It is very remarkable that more than fifty years ago Sir A. Cotton described in his book on "Public Works in India" the great advantages to be secured by improved water-ways in all countries; and the great advantages the Germans have secured for themselves by improving the Rhine for all navigable purposes, in spite of most serious natural obstacles, such as masses of floating ice in winter, and raging torrents in summer by the melting of the snows on the Alps, fully confirm and prove the soundness of Sir Arthur's judgment and forethought. At the time it was openly declared that the idea of carrying goods by water for a farthing to a halfpenny a ton a mile was purely chimerical, and not worth listening to; but what we rejected the Germans have accepted and acted upon, and have succeeded in carrying their goods traffic on rivers and canals at *far less rates* than Sir Arthur expected, and in our own

country their rates have been improved upon, notably on the Aire and Calder Navigation.

So determined are the Germans to secure the utmost benefits by water-ways in the interest of the whole community that, finding her chief river the Rhine most seriously handicapped by the hostile tariffs of Holland at its outlets into the sea, the Government decided to cut the Dortmund-Ems canal in order to facilitate the Rhine trade from the Dutch harbours to Emden.

This canal is 168 miles long, has a depth of  $8\frac{1}{4}$  feet, and ships of 1,000 tons can use it; *it has twenty locks*, of which the most important have the enormous length of 542 feet. The cost averages about £25,000 per mile, which is considerably more than the average cost per mile of Indian railways, which carry goods traffic at 80 per cent. *more* than this country can afford to pay. All this expense has been incurred by Germany, *though it is doubtful* if this canal will eventually be very profitable; but the work shows what spirit has been aroused in foreign countries to secure the cheapest means of transport for their industrial products at almost reckless expense. At the same time, in India we are levying *exorbitant tolls on canals* in order to divert the traffic on to the railways, ruining the cultivation of the land thereby, adding most seriously to the burdens of an overtaxed country, and neglecting all the magnificent rivers of India which are so abundantly supplied with water, and, if improved, could be made navigable for thousands of miles inland.

The great rivers of India, the Indus, the Ganges, and the Brahmapootra, not only receive abundance of water by the usual tropical rains of both monsoons, but they possess an inexhaustible source of supply of water from the snowy range of the Himalayas, the most stupendous mountain range in the whole world. The two former rivers are subject, like the Rhine, in summer to violent floods by the melting of the snows, and, unless provided with large reservoirs, the water runs off rapidly to waste. It is different

with the Brahmapootra. The summer rises in this river are very gradual, it is supposed by the existence of natural lakes which receive and discharge the snow-water in its upper courses ; but the grave defect in this river is that it is not properly embanked, and spreads its stream widely in the plains of Assam, doing immense damage and making the navigation very unsatisfactory. If this river were dealt with as the Rhine has been, it would be one of the most magnificent water-ways in the world, and vessels of 500 or 600 tons could easily navigate it for some 1,200 miles inland. Every sort and kind of industry could be most profitably established in this basin ; the soil is most fertile, the water-supply extremely abundant, but the population is very sparse, and, as nothing has been done to make this grand river of any use, it remains in its natural state. And then we complain the Germans are taking our trade from us, and we must protect our industries, when here we have no industries to protect worth speaking of. Having the same means as the Germans possess on the Rhine in far greater abundance, it is quite plain what we ought to do with such a river as the Brahmapootra : follow their practice, make the river as navigable as possible, deepen its bar at Chittagong, and ocean steamers will then be able to go up to Decca, or perhaps much higher still.

The Germans do not hesitate to lay out £20,000 a mile to obtain such beneficial results for the whole community as cheap means of transport afford, and in India these results can be secured for far less. Probably £2,500 a mile would make the Brahmapootra the finest water-way and inland harbour in the world.

In Northern and Central India there are many large rivers, such as Mahanadi, the Nerbudda, the Tapti, which all have the same characteristics. They receive their waters during the prevalence of the usual tropical monsoon seasons, and their floods are dependent entirely on the intensity of the rainfall, having no natural lakes into which these rains can be received and distributed gradually ; and

their basins being generally steep and the ground very hard, the run-off is very rapid. The floods rise very quickly, and flow off in a very short time, leaving the beds of these rivers very dry, with only a small stream running in them for all the hot-weather months, which last for, perhaps, 210 days in an ordinary year; in seasons of short rainfall the drought may last for ten months out of the twelve in the year. During these periods man and beast have as bad a supply of water as can well be imagined, and as no agriculture can by any possibility be successfully carried on without an abundant supply of good water, it is no wonder no progress has ever been made in land cultivation in India. The tenure of land in these territories is as bad as it can possibly be: the cultivators are at the mercy of the zemindars, and the only idea these people have for cultivating land is to screw all they can out of the ryots, and do nothing to promote better cultivation of the land. To all intents and purposes the cultivators are in such systems of land tenure as badly off as African slaves were a hundred years ago. The only possible remedies in such territories are to make ryots secure of a fair share of the produce, to provide them with good common roads, and to secure as much of the flood-waters as possible in large artificial reservoirs, to put a stop to all waste, and to see that all such waters are properly distributed for irrigation or navigation purposes. No details for such works can be given off-hand; each river-basin requires to be more carefully examined, and its *maximum* rainfall registered, so that works can be projected to utilize the abundant rainfall to the greatest advantage for the whole community; otherwise the lands can never be profitably cultivated or famines prevented.

As regards the great rivers of Southern India, the Godavery, the Kistna, and the Cauvery, it is needless to write much more about them. These rivers carry off the drainage of the Western Ghats, where the rainfall is well known to be most abundant, and the records, which have



never been maintained at all the anikuts for over half a century, fully confirm the data we have regarding the abundant water-supply in all their basins. It is either mere prejudice or sheer ignorance which is constantly proclaiming that, because these rivers are not supplied from snowy ranges, therefore nothing can be done with them, at the same time that we actually neglect altogether such rivers as have abundant supplies of water from the snowy ranges of the Himalayas. How little attention is paid to this all-important subject of inland navigation in India is quite apparent from the fact that the Irrigation Commission do not even refer to the matter at all in their report, and ignore the value and importance of the means of cheap transport in connection with successful land cultivation altogether! Whilst Germany, France, the United States, and other countries, are vigorously carrying out projects to afford the land the cheapest means of transport as the only possible means for promoting agriculture generally. No parts of India afford finer fields for every kind of hydraulic works than do the basins of these magnificent rivers of Southern India, and it is nothing but sheer neglect of all public duties and interests which has allowed them to remain in their natural state, and the consequences are the awful famines now so frequently occurring in these territories. As one instance of this gross neglect and mismanagement we have only to think of the Tungâbhadra project, which was condemned by the so-called experts for over forty years, and it is admitted the Government have lost some ten or twelve crores of rupees thereby, that the people have perished by the million for want of this most abundant water-supply, and yet, though now sanctioned since 1901 for investigation by the Supreme Government, no progress has been made with it up to date!

## THE MOPAND IRRIGATION PROJECT, MADRAS.

BY GENERAL J. F. FISCHER, R.E.

IN the April number of this *Review* for 1904, Mr. Hughes says at p. 303: "In Madras the local drainage is much more utilized than in other provinces. In the river basins, from the Pennar southwards, 70 per cent. of the surface flow is *utilized*, and there is very limited scope for impounding more water."

In the *Madras Mail* of December 28, 1904, there is a leading article on the "Mopand Irrigation Project" recently sanctioned by the Government of India for the construction of a reservoir on the Mannar River, a minor river in the Nellore district, the waters of which are at present *not utilized for irrigation*, and never have been, according to the Collector of the district, who declares there are seven such rivers in that district alone, the waters of which have always been allowed to run waste into the sea. It is impossible, then, to understand what Mr. Hughes means when he declares "that 70 per cent. of *all such drainages have been so fully utilized*, there is now only a very limited scope for impounding more water in any of them."

This will become more apparent when we describe the basin of this so-called minor river in connection with the rainfall of the district. This river has a catchment area of about 1,200 square miles, about the size of an English county; the average rainfall of the district is about 35 inches, judging from that of the adjacent district of North Arcot, which is said to be 37 inches. According to the data usually employed by engineers in such tracts of country, the yield of water from such a basin *in the tropics* in seasons of good rainfall should be about 2,700 million cubic yards of water, or 72,900 million cubic feet. Of this

quantity, which has always been allowed to run to waste, it is now proposed to impound by the Mopand project only 2,091 million cubic feet, which is said to be equivalent to a run off of 3.69 inches of rainfall from only 250 square miles of the catchment above the site of this dam. It cannot be said this project provides for all that can be done in such a catchment basin; the success of Sir A. Binnie's project at Nagpore shows that a much larger quantity of water can be easily and profitably impounded in all such river basins, and according to the data he used there should be no great difficulty in storing water in such a river basin for the irrigation of about 200,000 acres of land, whereas by this project only some 17,500 acres of land are provided for at a cost of Rs. 12,10,000, which is at the rate of about Rs. 126 per acre. Under these circumstances it cannot be said the project will be a profitable one, especially as there is no provision in the estimate for providing any facilities of access to any markets for surplus produce. The Government may rest assured that if such provision is not made in the estimates submitted to them for land improvements, there is no chance of any such projects being at all successful. It is useless to waste time in arguing further about this matter nowadays, for all experience for many years has fully established the rule for land to be cultivated in any profitable manner *it must be provided* with the best, the easiest, and the cheapest means of transport to the most extensive markets at all times to secure the greatest profits. If this is not done, then wages increase so much in cost of transport it is not worth while cultivating the land, and how, then, can rent or assessment be obtained from it?

There is nothing easier in the vast plains of India than to construct a road which will enable the common country carts and bullocks to carry double the loads they now carry. It would not be very difficult to make all gradients to Telford's standard for turnpike roads, 1 in 45 or 50. As the traffic does not require to be very rapid, gradients

of 1 in 30 or 35 might be allowed ; and if the roads are only properly bridged, the cost of transport could by these means be very easily reduced by 100 per cent. This matter has never received the attention in India which ought to be bestowed on it ; the only thing considered has been the outlay on the road. But the benefits such works confer on the whole community has never been thought worthy of any consideration ; and hence it is we hear so much of assessments being too high, whereas it is perfectly certain that the land can never be profitably cultivated if it is not provided with the cheapest means of transport to the most extensive markets at the proper time for its raw, heavy products, generally of great bulk and of little value in comparison with manufactured goods. In France and Switzerland they have understood the importance of this matter far better than we have done in England, and hence it is their agriculture is flourishing. In the former country they have abolished all tolls on their canals and river navigations, and have spent close upon 100 millions sterling of late years to improve these, whilst in India we have actually increased the tolls on the Godavery canals by about 400 per cent. in order to get the traffic on to the railways, and thereby have thrown some 30,000 acres of land out of irrigation, with a loss of revenue of about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lacs of rupees, and a loss to the cultivator in the value of produce of about 7 lacs of rupees. This alone is quite sufficient to show how important it is to provide the land with the *cheapest* possible means of transport in order to enable the cultivators to pay a higher rate of assessment ; but to tax the means of transport because they are the *cheapest* possible in order to give the railways a monopoly of all the traffic at the highest rates is a policy which condemns itself for its selfishness and short-sightedness. But as regards this poor country, it is flagrantly said to confer "incalculable benefits on it" !

It is proposed to construct this Mopand dam of earth, and to be 70 feet in height when it crosses the river-bed.

We venture to say this is a very hazardous proceeding in such a locality. The site of the dam is about fifty miles inland from the coast, which is frequently visited by heavy gales of wind, hurricanes, or cyclones. At such times it is no uncommon thing for 10 or 15 inches of rain to fall in two or three days; and all these rivers along this coast are filled with immense quantities of water, and as their beds have very steep inclines, these waters are discharged in violent floods at very high velocities. Unless every precaution is taken to consolidate this dam as perfectly as possible in the shortest time possible, it will be liable to be carried away altogether by any sudden floods in a river of this kind. The loss of capital is not the only loss which will be incurred by such an accident. A whole season's revenue will also be lost, to say nothing of the discouragements and further delays which will occur in all probability. All these can be easily avoided by constructing the dam of heavy stone, so that floods can pass easily over it without doing any damage. The first cost will, of course, be much increased; but it is well worth incurring, for it secures the work from all chances of utter ruin and the miserable opposition always made in such cases.

It appears to us that full advantage has not been taken of this site to secure as much as possible the water-supply contained in this basin. The catchment area above the dam is said to be about 250 square miles, only one-fifth of the whole basin; but even here why should the dam not be raised so as to store  $562\frac{1}{2}$  million cubic yards, which can surely be expected from the run-off in such steep ground? If we deduct one-third, or  $187\frac{1}{2}$  million cubic yards, to be retained in the reservoir for a hot-weather supply, the quantity available for use will be 375 million cubic yards—sufficient for a rice crop on 37,500 acres of land, or for ordinary dry crops this quantity of water will suffice for 150,000 acres of land.

If this project is enlarged to bring up the cost to 20 lacs of rupees, the paddy lands at Rs. 4 per acre would yield

a return of 7 per cent., and the dry lands at Rs.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per acre  $11\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., a matter which appears to require more consideration, for it is quite apparent that by the proposed arrangements very large surplusing must be provided when so little of the available rainfall is to be stored as  $77\frac{1}{2}$  million cubic yards—only about one-seventh of the average rainfall, so that six-sevenths will have to be surplused and wasted.

Another matter which does not appear to have been considered is that from this site it is not possible to lead off high-level channels from the top of the dam so as to convey the surplus water into the large tributaries which flow into the main river from the south and join it at Runnumuduqvo and Boodapoody. In these minor basins, which have considerable catchment areas of their own, it might be possible to store large quantities of water; and at Boodapoody, where all the drainage from the irrigated lands above must pass down the main streams towards the sea, a large anikut might be constructed to distribute all such drainage waters over the low-lying bunds towards Ramiapatnam. These lands have the advantage of transport by the railway and the Buckingham Canal, so their cultivation would be very valuable.

We have ventured to make these observations for the consideration of the Government, in the hope they may prevent disappointment and make the project far more profitable in a tract of country which is said to have suffered severely from famine and heavy losses of life and means, which this judgment always entails on all concerned. We are convinced there are abundant means available in all such river basins along the whole of this coast to prevent in a great measure all such losses if only properly utilized, and some of these we have endeavoured to indicate, not from any carping, cavilling spirit, but because from long experience with Sir A. Cotton we feel sure the Government and the people will be much benefited if all such projects are carried out so as to utilize as much as

possible the abundant water-supply now running to waste into the sea for want of properly-designed hydraulic works.

The point of greatest importance in designing works for the storage is the quantity flowing off the ground under certain circumstances, in order to take every advantage to make the reservoirs as useful as possible. In India, unfortunately, this matter has never received the attention which its importance requires, and we have no data to guide us satisfactorily. The old native tanks have all been constructed to supply mere local wants in certain villages, to cultivate a certain extent of land *in one season only*, and to get rid of all surplus waters as rapidly as possible, without any regard to the future wants of the peoples—a proceeding which is of the least possible utility in a country subject to long droughts even in ordinary years of good rainfall; for in Southern India the rainy season at the best prevails for only about 150 days in a year, and for the remaining 215 days little or no rain is expected to fall. In any season, therefore, when the usual rains fail, a drought may last for 500 days or more; it is then of the greatest importance to make all reservoirs, which have only a limited catchment area whence a supply of water can be obtained as large as possible, and to convey any surplus to other reservoirs lower down in the same basin.

This advantage cannot possibly be secured by using only the *average* rainfall of a district in any climate in the tropics where the fluctuations of rainfall are so great as these are in such regions. It is far more advisable to take the maximum rainfall and to store as much of this as possible in all suitable sites, and distribute all surpluses to minor works.

These remarks do not, of course, apply to reservoirs constructed on the large rivers of the country, such as the Nile, the Kistna, or the Toongabudra, for these can be relied on to fill the reservoirs in every season; but on the East Coast of India the rivers carrying off the drainage of

the Eastern Ghauts have only limited catchment areas, and are not regularly supplied by the south-west monsoon in any great abundance. The north-east monsoon frequently fails ; at the same time this coast is liable to have violent gales and hurricanes visiting it in certain months, when very heavy falls of rain occur in less than a week, and fill all these rivers with abundance of water, which they discharge very rapidly into the sea, utterly wasted, leaving the country exposed to all the losses of a severe drought. Now, if large reservoirs existed on all such rivers, much of this waste would be prevented, and there can be no doubt the people would be greatly benefited and the Government saved from much loss of revenue.

As regards the run off, we know from recorded observations that after the ground has been well saturated with moisture, such is the intensity of the rainfall in the tropics that as much as 98 per cent. of a shower of only 2.2 inches has been received into a reservoir within two hours and fifty minutes, and this occurred at an inland station in a basin which is by no means steep. All along the Coromandel coast the ground is much steeper in general and the rainfall much more intense. Our data and records are still very incomplete, but as an instance it can be mentioned on good authority that during the great famine of 1876-1878 in Southern India the coast about Madras was visited by a very severe hurricane in May, 1877. The rain fell in torrents for nearly a week, and all the rivers were in heavy violent flood, which all went to waste, at a time when every drop of water was worth its weight in gold, for lives of men and beasts were lost in that visitation by the million just for want of large storage reservoirs.

Considering the peculiar character of this rainfall on this coast, its vast intensity during short periods of time, the violent rapidity of its run off in immense volume, it cannot be said the work now projected will answer to any great or profitable advantage. In a basin which contains 1,200 square miles of country, or 768,000 acres, it is proposed to



supply only 17,500 acres with water on a small scale by storing only one-tenth or one-twelfth of the average rainfall ; but of this average 50 per cent. or more will probably fall in ten or fifteen days, when we know the run off will be excessive. These works, then, provide for storing a very small proportion of the available water-supply of this basin, and will have to be provided with very large waste-weirs ; moreover, the dam across the river is to be constructed of common earth. In a locality subject to such heavy falls of rain in any season, the chances, it appears to us, are that it will be swept away by any sudden storms during construction ; for a dam 70 feet high, to be properly consolidated, cannot possibly be run up in a short time. If any such accident should occur, the outlay to repair damages will add very seriously to the proposed estimated cost, and then we shall have another instance of the failure of irrigation works in India.

Under all these circumstances we cannot but advise the Government to have the whole project more thoroughly investigated, in order that every advantage may be taken of the abundant means for supplying this basin throughout with a good water-supply for man and beast, and good main and cross roads, thoroughly bridged, in order to secure the best results.

## RAMIE, THE TEXTILE OF THE FUTURE: A PROMISING INDUSTRY FOR INDIA.

By D. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE.

THE cotton crisis has brought out most prominently the need there is to have some other textile on which to rely in case of need ; the lesson taught, amongst others, is the folly of relying on one country for the supply of raw material—putting all one's eggs, so to speak, in one basket—the oversight in not being able to control supplies. We are essentially a textile-spinning nation, and the art of spinning *par excellence* belongs to us. We were, as our manufacturers thought, masters of the situation ; no need to bother ourselves about raw material : it was much beneath our notice. Let others grow ; we only can work it, and the raw product must be brought to us. But this folly is shown, that whilst others were growing, and the only ones growing, for the world's produce—even to-day is 80 per cent. in one hand—others also were learning to manipulate the fibre, and so a market demand was being created by others competitive to ourselves—this in Europe, whom we had taught. But not only here, but America, the holder of the supplies, rapidly increased their manufacture, so the demand arose at the source of production, which enabled our American cousins to dictate their own terms ; and how onerous they are is proved by the vast losses we have sustained, and the privations our operatives have endured. Many millions per annum—our Chairman of the Cotton-Growing Association puts it at 15 millions per annum—are lost to the country, gone to swell the producers' hordes, starving our operatives and retarding our progress ; for so vast an amount lost to the country means retarding other industries—arts, science, etc.—all in need of the money. Had one-tenth part of this loss been judiciously spent in encouraging the growth of the raw material in our colonies, it would have been

impossible for one country to stagnate the cotton industry as it has with such disastrous effect. Another point is prominently brought out, that the world's population increases so rapidly that the present source of supply could not cope with it ; and here, again, another difficulty confronts us. The competing countries manufacturing must keep up the price of cotton in order to supply the wants of the growing populations of the world, which, as civilization advances, increases the demand for cheap cotton. The foregoing brief remarks accentuate the facts. Textiles are in demand, and are likely to be more required as the world's population increases as it does ; that so long as a country is relying on a neighbouring country for supply, so long will it be open to the ravages of unscrupulous gamblers, whose opportunity is further opportunized by the fact that the demand increases in greater proportion to the supply. All this was fully brought out at the British Association, and our Premier, Mr. Balfour, very ably pointed out that cotton cornering could not be stopped by legislation, nor even by the extension of the area of growth, which was admirably suggested as a source to minimize the evil. Utilize our colonies and extend the area of production was good advice, he said ; but, still, so long as cotton had no substitute, cotton crises and cornering would be possible. He illustrated his meaning by corn. If this was forced to an abnormal price, rice, maize, oats, and the like, were at hand to take its place. We have therefore in evidence shortage of cotton, increase of population, the need of a substitute, and the blessing a new textile would confer on the world's population, with an increasing demand for clothing. Ramie is at hand, and knocking at the door for admittance to take that place. Had ramie received the attention it deserves, no cotton crisis would be possible, and why it has not been grown before this is one of the enigmas we have so often confronting us, and can only be explained by the apathy and shortsightedness of our manufacturers in not making secure their base of supply in our own colonies instead of

relying on the precarious supply of a foreign country. As far as cotton is concerned, even the famine caused by the American War in 1862, when Lancashire was brought to the verge of starvation, not even that opened our eyes to the possibilities of relying on our colonies for supplies, and the benefits to be derived from a self-contained empire. "Inquire within for everything" should be our motto. We should, and could, be independent of the whole world. There is nothing wanted in manufacture and the requirements of our population that cannot be supplied by our own colonies for the enrichment of our own peoples and the Empire's advancement. I am not here to preach imperialism, or the resources of the Empire ; my object is to point out the merits of ramie, the king of fibres, as a textile. I am not advocating it to be grown as a substitute or rival to cotton ; there is a place for both ; they are both needed, and one will support the other, though cotton will benefit by far by the alliance. Ramie is so far superior to cotton they cannot be compared ; the waste or noils of ramie would be the substitute for cotton in time of shortage. Ramie would back up cotton in time of need. Mixed with cotton, the alliance would be to improve cotton. We will therefore treat ramie as a desirable textile, which, possibly, in the near future will take premier rank in the textile trade. The Cotton-Growing Association is doing admirable work, and I say by all means encourage the growth of cotton in our Empire ; but its possibilities and zone of cultivation are limited as compared with ramie, and it is by far a more precarious crop, more costly to grow and maintain, subject to vicissitudes, ravages of insects, climatic influences, etc., which are withstood by ramie. It grows almost anywhere, but, of course, with varying results. It will certainly grow where cotton grows, but it grows luxuriantly where cotton cannot grow, and is comparatively much cheaper to grow, and yields more. Time will not permit me to preface the object of this paper with more reasons for the cultivation of ramie, but I hope they are sufficient to create an interest to hear further about ramie, and what

it is. Ramie is a nettle botanically known as *Urtica Boehmeria*. The varieties best for cultivation are *nivea* and *tenacissima*. *Nivea*, I think, will be the favoured variety. It has long been grown by the Chinese, and utilized by them, and finds great favour, as the best-dressed Chinaman uses ramie in preference to other materials. In this he shows his good sense, as it is beautifully lustrous, silky, and strong; it is many times stronger than cotton, flax, hemp, and the like. It is well known to many Asiatic peoples, and utilized by them for clothing, ropes, nets, etc. For this particular purpose it has exceptional qualities: it does not rot; nets made of ramie are handed down from father to son. It was this that first brought it to the attention of Europeans. The Indian Government, appreciating its value many years ago, offered a prize, in the hope of fostering the trade and promoting its adoption. The native method is to prepare the fibre by hand, a somewhat slow and tedious process, though sure, as is proved by the Chinese methods. This did not suit our Western ideas, so a prize was offered to create a machine to degum, decorticate, and filasse the fibre—a sort of impossible machine, that would run a pig in at one end and serve it hot on plates for eating at the other. Westerners were asked to create a machine to treat a plant of which they had no information but from the description given in print. Naturally, the result was abortive, and, in my opinion, the hands of the clock of progress were set back as the impression got abroad that the fibre could not be treated, so it was no use to cultivate it. It was a mistake: the prize should have been offered for cultivation, and the growth and planting encouraged; the machines for economizing labour would soon have followed. Planters ask for decorticators when they have no material to treat. The situation is on a par with a country setting up mills to grind corn when none is forthcoming to grind. The mill is a failure simply because the wrong conditions have prevailed. The plant does offer difficulties, it is true; but they can, and are, easily overcome, and if planters will only grow in

sufficient quantities, the produce can be treated in a green state, and filassed, which will be a great advantage ; a saving in freight will be effected, and a gain in strength. Perhaps to many it would be interesting to know how the plant can be grown.

It can easily be propagated from seed sown in shallow boxes very thinly (it rots if crowded), kept moist (it damps off if saturated), and protected from the sun's rays as seedlings ; pricked out when large enough into other boxes, say 3 inches apart ; then, when 6 or 8 inches, transplanted into a nursery patch ; give each plant plenty of room ; encourage lateral shoots ; when the lower ones are long enough, nick and peg down—they strike easily ; when rooted, detach from parent plant ; take cuttings—they strike easily if kept moist. It is also propagated by division of roots. The raising, therefore, of stock-plants offers but little trouble. We now come to planting out, and here, I think, it should be left somewhat to the planter's discretion. I should say plant in beds of one, two, or three rows, 3 to 4 feet apart, leaving between the patches, whether one or three rows, an alley sufficient to permit a trolley or plough to pass. One must remember there is the fact that the crop is a heavy one, and has to be collected daily. The stems do not all mature at once, so have to be selected as they are fit. It is well to discourage lateral shoots in the crops, so the plants are better close. Fibre is better from long, straight stems, yet it is not advisable to allow the stems to grow too close, as it becomes more difficult to cut them. Under these circumstances it is difficult to give a hard-and-fast rule for planting, as much depends on the climate and soil as to the rapidity with which the plant matures. I mention these facts to show how easily the plant can be grown.

The next question is maintenance. Once a plantation is established, it goes on for about eighteen years, requiring only such attention as mulching, weeding, hoeing, ploughing between the rows, etc. It stands to reason a well-kept and manured plantation will yield better than a neglected one.

The next question is harvesting and preparing the ribbons. The Chinese method is simple: The stems are cut, the outer skin or bark, which contains the fibre, is stripped off and scraped, so as to rid it of its gummy juice and the brown pellicle. To do this the Chinaman protects his fingers with some hard substance, and draws the fibre through his thumb and forefinger, rinsing the fibre ribbons in water and drying them, care being taken to keep the ribbons parallel. They are then baled up and sent here to be filassed. It is at this point I would particularly draw the attention of the planter, especially where cheap labour is not available. Women and children can and do participate in harvesting in China, and must do in all countries till the plantations are large enough for mechanical decortication and degumming. Then a different condition of things will prevail. Degumming and decorticating stations should be set up to treat the stems whilst they are green, and the advantages of such a system are manifold. The fibre will be better, and the filasse will fetch a far greater price. At the present time "rhea," or ribbons, stripped from the stem, with no attempt to clean them, fetch £15; whilst the ribbons divested of much of the gum, as by the Chinese method, fetch £30 to £40 per ton; whereas the filasse would readily fetch £50 to £60, and the cost of freight would be lessened at least 50 per cent. That is not the only gain, as to dry the ribbons and harvest them is adding the cost of handling. Another disadvantage, the gum is dried in the ribbons—it has then become difficult to remove—and the operation, as compared with treating it in its fluid or green state, is costly, and the fibre has naturally lost in strength and lustre by the operation. Everything, therefore, favours the treatment on the plantation up to filasse. Furthermore, there are the by-products. I am informed the gum is valuable; then the lateral shoots and leaves all contain fibre, and could be utilized to form paper-pulp. Ramie makes the finest paper; bank-notes are made of it. The leaves form an excellent vegetable and fodder.

I am of opinion these are somewhat the condition of things that will prevail. The planter will grow, and he will cut the stems, sending them in loads to the decorticator, which will be fixed at a point easily accessible to the plantation. These decorticators, where the plantation is not large enough to employ its own regularly, will be let out, much as threshing-machines are lent to farmers here. These ribbons, still green, will then be taken to a degumming station, much as sugar-cane is treated in Queensland. The product will then be packed in bales, and is ready for the market. As an industry it would be especially advantageous to grow in India. The planters are suffering from the failure of indigo, which has been superseded by the German production. Indigo and tea planters would do well to turn their attention to ramie, and I would advise every planter to make an experiment; it is easily tested and proved. A 5s. packet of seed will give thousands of plants, and these plants would be stock-plants for propagation. If they cut the stems when about 3 feet long and send them to me, I would willingly report on the possibilities gratis. It is, therefore, easily within the reach of all to make the experiment, and, if successful, the outlay will have given them the nucleus to lay down a large tract. It is *par excellence* the finest of all fibre, strong, lustrous, long staple; it will not rot, possessing qualities no other fibre possesses, equalling all other fibres in most points, excelling all in others. Why it has remained neglected so long is an enigma.

There is nothing other fibres make that this fibre does not excel in. The planter's profit would be enormous. It can be grown at £7 10s. per ton; it fetches here to-day £32. Of course, at this price it is not competitive with cotton in its normal state; but if ramie were grown in sufficient quantities, there is no reason why it could not be sold at £20, at which price it would compete. There is no reason, however, why it need compete to find a market. I maintain it has been one of the causes why it has not

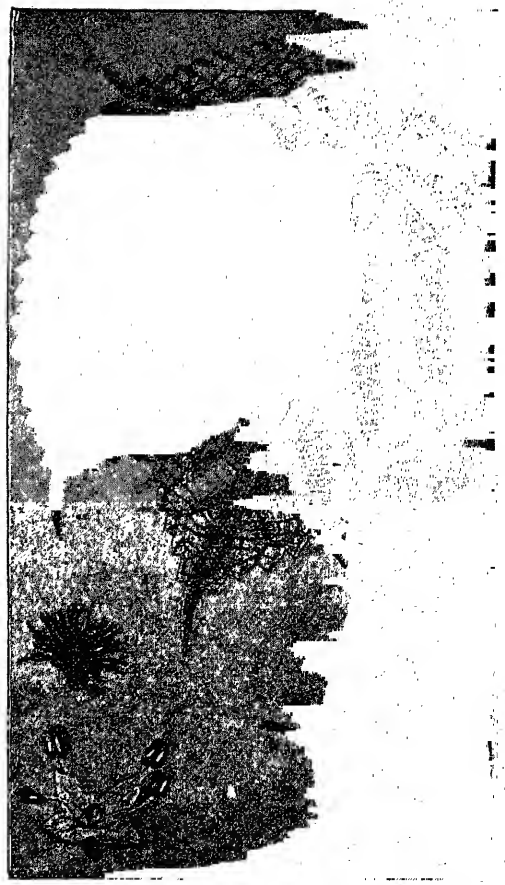


been adopted. Manufacturers have sought to put it in competition, which the very shortness of supply prevents. There are a hundred things to which it can be applied without need of competition or substitution, and for which it can be used even at its present high price. Facility to imitate all other textiles is one of the principal causes which has kept back the development of the ramie industry, and if, instead of launching out into a series of experiments, attention had been concentrated upon the exclusive manufacture of those articles to which the properties of the plant were peculiarly and naturally adapted, this industry would have been in a more advanced condition than it is at present. The folly of building up a ramie manufacturing industry on a false basis—*i.e.*, employing the textile as a substitute for something else—is to be deprecated. The fibre should be utilized in those articles of economic necessity which would appear on the market as ramie, that any distinctive merit the fibre may possess will become known, not only to the ramie trade, but to consumers of the produce. As an illustration I will mention incandescent gas-lighting. It makes the most perfect base or stocking for the production of a mantle; its strength and absorbent qualities peculiarly fit it for this purpose, and it readily commands a price beyond any other material; and this trade has done much to cause the merits of ramie to become known.

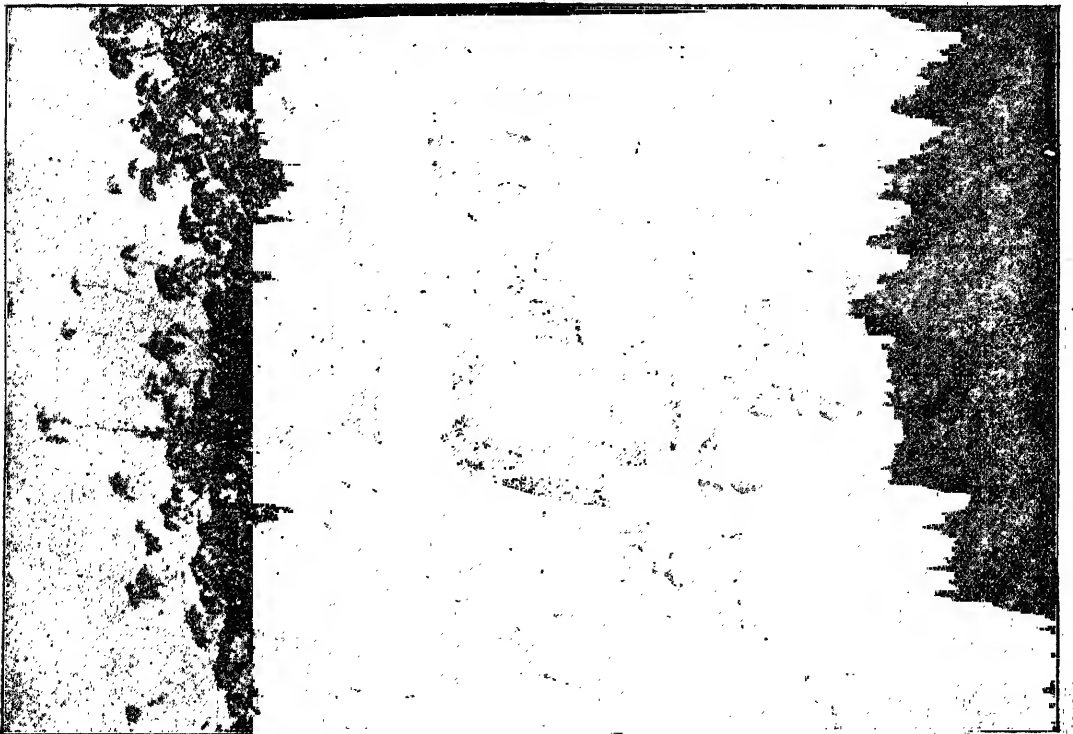
Take another use—fishing lines and nets. It is not only stronger, but its non-rotting qualities place it miles above any other article. For sail-cloth, ships' rigging-ropes, which must be light, durable, and strong. If our Alpine climbers would use ramie ropes, there would be fewer lives lost from accidents—rope-breaking, etc. For balloon-nets. For underclothing it is an ideal hygienic clothing. It is a non-conductor of heat; consequently, the wearer is warm in winter and cool under the sun's rays. It is absorbent, and has the virtue of being not only a preventative, but a curer of colds. It is a splendid medical



URTICA (*BOEHMERIA NIVEA*).



URTICA (*BOEHMERIA TENACISSIMA*).



RAMIE : FIVE MONTHS' GROWTH.



dressing, and for surgical purposes will command an unrivalled pre-eminence. Another use for which it would command a greater price is for clothing for troops and other uniformed bodies. I made tunics for the South African campaign. A trooper wore one, and it outwore three cotton tunics; and with, say, a cost of 6d. for the regimental tailor to repair, would still outwear two or three more cotton tunics. Compare the price:

Say cotton costs 5s., making up 5s.—10s. Three tunics, cotton, 30s.

Ramie place as high as double, viz., 10s., making up 5s.—15s. The ramie still serviceable, 15s.—therefore less than half the price, to say nothing of such advantages in a campaign as transport, storage, distribution, and many others. For tropical climates it is invaluable as a clothing. It will resist the "dhobies," so disastrous in washing. The following are a few advantages:

1. It is many times stronger than cotton, flax, hemp, and the like.

2. It has a very long staple, from 3 to 19 inches.

3. It is easily grown, as it acclimatizes itself in almost any zone where agriculture is possible—of course, with varying results, as it crops in some latitudes as many as four times per annum.

4. It is beautifully lustrous, more after the nature of silk in appearance.

5. It does not rot, giving it, for many purposes, such as fishing-lines, nets, sail-cloths, ropes, boot and saddlery thread, tarpaulins, rick-cloths, tents, hose, shop-blinds, boot-linings, and other requirements necessitating exposure to damp, great advantages.

6. It is non-elastic, and herein it is invaluable for machinery belting and ropes, measuring tapes—mixed with wool, it imparts non-shrinking possibilities to that article—and many other purposes where rigidity is an advantage.

7. I could further expatiate on its merits, but space

forbids. I will curtail my remarks by stating there is nothing wool, cotton, flax, hemp, jute, and even silk, produces this fibre cannot imitate, and in most cases excels. It makes splendid cloth for uniforms, and almost indestructible table - linen, sheeting, dress goods, velvets, curtains, lace, tapestry and upholstery purposes, lamp-wicks, waistcoatings, trouserings, duck, riding-breeches, etc. It is an ideal hygienic clothing, invaluable for underwear. It is pronounced by the medical profession as the most advantageous surgical dressing and for body wear. I will wind up by pointing out its durability and toughness alone commend it as a material that is invaluable for its indestructible qualities.

I made a report for the Government as to the possibilities of ramie, and it elicited the fact everyone praised it, and spoke of its vast possibilities if once regular supplies could be assured. This report I shall be pleased to show. I am afraid I have already exceeded the limits of the paper usually read at your meetings, but I have by no means exhausted the subject, or even done justice to it. I want to impress on India the vast importance this industry will be to it. To the planters and farmers, to agriculturists, I say, "Bring it into the economy of agriculture." The question of decortication and degumming is simple, and I have offered, if the Government will encourage and foster the industry, to show how an enormous revenue could be made by their adopting the process as a Government monopoly, and I would do this on share terms, on the system of no cure, no pay. It will, I am afraid, be left to private enterprise, which will, of course, be slower to make the progress that is needed. Would it not be possible for some of the native rulers to take it up? It would be found enormously profitable, as well as a blessing to their peoples.

In conclusion, I would suggest a ramie association be formed. Are there not a few philanthropists who would subscribe a few pounds to distribute literature, or even give the seed away to all who would experiment? A few

hundred pounds would be ample. I am of opinion it could be made self-supporting, as the cost of printing would not be large. The seed could be sold at a profit to defray this cost and postage. The advantage of having a list of names willing to work in making the merits of ramie widely known would be great; in short, it is from co-operation rather than Governmental support, I am of opinion, the first advance will be made, and I invite this Association seriously to consider the advisability of undertaking the good work, and form themselves into a ramie-growing association. Summed up, it means, given the supplies of raw material, there is an industry as big as, if not bigger than, cotton, waiting only for supplies. The market is assured. It is for the planters and landowners to take the initiative. The larger the supply the greater will be the success, and the agriculturists will not be able to satisfy the demand that will arise as the area of production increases for some time to come.

For an investment ramie will offer the capitalist a grand opportunity for years to come, and the pioneers will reap reward beyond the dream of avarice. The manufacturing industry would be specially beneficial to India. I am quite willing to offer my services and give intending planters and investors advice, if they will communicate with me—  
D. Edwards-Radclyffe, Staines, England.

I have a few specimens here of the possibilities of ramie in cloth, yarns, fabrics, etc., and shall be pleased to explain to anyone who will favour me by an inspection. I have to thank you for kindly listening to my paper, in which I feel I have hardly done justice to the magnitude of the question.

I cannot better illustrate the position than by quoting a letter I have just received from a large manufacturer. He writes: "I see a future when someone will get a large supply cheaply, and reap a large reward, and make an enormous fortune while we struggle on with flax and tow, which are wasteful and dirty. And I dream of a time of hardly any waste, but spin a pure, clean, and beautiful fibre ramie.

It is exasperating to find this magnificent fibre going a-begging simply because there are no regular and sufficient supplies."

This puts the question in a nutshell. It is on a par with the evidence I collected for the Government report. All agree it is superior to all fibres—they would use it if supplies were forthcoming. This man could use a 100 tons weekly, and it is no isolated case. He dare not start till supplies are assured, and this is the condition ruling generally with all who know anything of the fibre. They want it, so it rests with the planters, and they will gain "beyond the dreams of avarice." Let all join in forming a ramie Association, having as its motto, *Floreat ramie!*

Another authority on the subject also writes: "Regarding ramie fibre, I believe there is a great future before it whenever it is grown to such an extent that it may come in cheaper or about same basis as flax. Flax year by year is growing dirtier, heavier, wastes are being made in spinning of it, and with the present condition of Russia, both externally, and particularly internally, the prospects of a good flax crop for the present year are not at all bright. Further, for the past few years the seed sown has been of the poorest quality, and therefore the crops turn out badly. If we can get ramie to beat flax in price, we could start with 20 to 30 tons weekly, which quantity would be further extended to, say, 100 tons, as we got it more and more introduced into different fabrics and used for different purposes."

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RAMIE AS THE SAVIOUR OF THE FLAX INDUSTRY OF  
SCOTLAND AND THE SUPPORT OF THE COTTON  
INDUSTRY OF ENGLAND.

For the past number of years flax-spinners have been labouring under the disadvantages of dear and dirty flax

crops from Russia, where the largest proportion of the fibre used in Scotland comes from. With the exception of the period of the South African War, when the demand from our Government for material for tents and covers was very great, and when the question of price was not the most important factor, but quick delivery, the past number of years have been very poor years for those engaged in this industry. Year after year the crop gets poorer in quality; the old-fashioned method of retting the straw from the flax gets less attention in the hurry of the peasants to get their crop into the market and realized; or the crop is so late that a great part of it, either in the process of drying or retting, is caught by the snow, and does not therefore come to market until the following spring; or a backward season makes the flax late in being pulled, and the water in which the flax is retted is too cold to do so properly; or the seed is too poor in quality to produce good, clean flax. We have also to consider the old-fashioned methods of cultivation employed by the peasants. The chronic state of poverty, which is the rule rather than the exception, hinders them from properly manuring the land to produce better crops, so year by year the ground gets more unfruitful by reason of their inability to follow proper methods of cultivation.

Such are only a few of the disadvantages under which flax-spinners have to labour. First of all, a small crop means dear prices; then, when the flax is bought and delivered, under the usual guarantee, "fair average quality of the season's shipments," the spinner's second trouble begins. It generally, or at least within the past few years, has been found that the flax is poor in quality, very indifferently cleaned, and altogether very wasteful in working, and dearer than the spinner anticipated, when he is, perhaps, under obligation to deliver his yarn or cloth up to a certain standard of quality for a given price. What a spinner could formerly rely upon in his calculations for spinning wastes—in spinning flax-line—are now exceeded



by at least 4 per cent. The tow from such flax is naturally very wasteful to spin, and even after spinning it into tow-yarn, besides being poor in quality, the waste, which formerly averaged 25 per cent., in many cases is now nearer 40 per cent.

With the present war in which Russia is engaged, and the no less serious internal trouble, the prospects of flax from Russia being better for the 1905 crop cannot possibly be expected, but rather the reverse. What with the signs of serious revolution at no distant date, the large levies of reserves called up to fight for their country throughout all the provinces, the already ominous cry of poor flax seed presently being sown—all these have their own direct bearing on the flax question, and makes the outlook for 1906 far from being pleasant to contemplate.

If ramie were cultivated to such an extent that it could be imported to this country in hundreds of tons, then the long-suffering flax-spinners would welcome it, and see in it their salvation, and then no longer would be heard the wail of those who now speak of flax manufacture as a decadent industry, but with the coming of ramie, a new era, with additional industries following in its train, and the prospect of prosperity.

Never has the textile world had an opportunity offered like the present. Cotton suffers periodically from causes brought about by unscrupulous gamblers, whose tactics are fostered by our forefathers' short-sightedness in not encouraging cotton-growing in our own colonies. Even now fully 80 per cent. of the cotton production is in one nation's hands. Then the competition of France, Germany, and America as cotton manufacturers, together with the world's increasing population, requiring cotton faster than it can be produced—all this plays into the hands of cotton gamblers, and so we are periodically squeezed. Yet here again ramie can play the part of rescuer. The British Association brought out fully the enormous hardships and losses our cotton operatives sustained. The chairman admitted

15 millions per annum loss, to say nothing of the fearful misery to the starving operatives. Mr. Balfour pointed out these evils were only to be avoided by a substitute. He illustrated his argument by corn. It was difficult, he said, to corner wheat, as there were substitutes, such as barley, rice, maize, oats, and the like, which, when wheat reached an abnormal price, were ready to take its place. This substitute for cotton is at hand in ramie. The short noils, a by-product, are even better than cotton, and could be utilized by the cotton-spinners in case of shortage.

The Cotton Association is doing good work in fostering cotton-growing in our colonies, and it would do well to encourage ramie as well. It grows where cotton grows, and where it does not it has a much larger field. There is an enormous opening for ramie, and our sugar and indigo planters, to say nothing of tea, which has reached over-production, would find enormous profits in ramie. A report I prepared for the Government, evidence obtained from Chambers of Commerce, technical schools, professors, manufacturers, brokers, spinners, weavers, and others, may be summed up as: "There can be no two opinions as to the merits of this wonderful fibre; it could and would be used in vast quantities if regular supplies can be assured at fair and reasonable prices."

It follows, therefore, that ramie must be a boon to all the textile trade, and as the world's population increases faster than clothing material is grown or produced, it will prove an all-round blessing to mankind. The Germans and French are alive to its possibilities, and even coquetting with our colonies for supplies to find their way to foreign looms. It undoubtedly is an opportunity for colonial enterprise. Ours should be a self-contained Empire. There is nothing required for our consumption, use, or manufacture our Empire cannot produce: why depend on foreigners for our supplies? "Inquire within for everything," and, what is more, see that we get it, should be our motto. Here is an

article, clothing for our people, we could supply the world. Wake up, John Bull! ramie is knocking at the door. Admit it to the economy of our Empire, and add vast wealth to our manufactures and agriculture, to say nothing of the boon, blessing, and benefits to our people. *Floreat ramie!*

D. EDWARDS-RADCLIFFE.

*Staines.*

## THE FUTURE OF THE HINDUSTANI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

BY SHAIKH ABDUL QADIR, B.A. (OF THE "LAHORE  
OBSERVER").

A HIGHLY interesting chapter contributed to the Indian Census Report, recently published, concludes thus : "Hitherto scholars have busied themselves with the tongues and thoughts of ancient India, and have too often presented them as illustrating the India of the present day. But the true India will never be known till the light of the West has been thrown on the hopes, the fears, the beliefs, of the 294 millions who have been counted at the present census. For this an accurate knowledge of the vernaculars is necessary, a knowledge not only of the colloquial languages, but also, when they exist, of the literatures, too commonly decided as worthless, but which one who has studied them and loves them can confidently affirm to be no mean possession of no mean land." Elsewhere in the same Report occurs another remarkable testimony to the advanced condition of some of the languages and literatures of India. We read : "India is a land of contrasts, and nowhere are these more evident than when we approach the consideration of its vernaculars. There are languages whose phonetic rules prohibit the existence of more than a few hundred words, which cannot express what are to us the commonest and most simple ideas ; and there are others with opulent vocabularies, rivalling English in their copiousness and in their accuracy of idea-connotation." It is my purpose to invite the attention of your readers to a language belonging to the latter category, and *the one* of that class which, to my mind, has the most promising future before it, and is admittedly spoken and understood by a larger number of people than any other language of the country. Call it by whatever name you will, write it in whatever character you

like, there is only one language that can in any sense be regarded as the language of the Indian Empire, as distinguished from provincial languages, such as the Bengali in Bengal, the Marhatti and the Gujrati in Bombay, the Tamil and the Telugu in Madras, and the Burmese in Burma. The part of the country watered by the Jumna and the Ganges is, of course, its stronghold, and its sway is undisputed from Patna to Delhi; but its influence in one form or another extends from Peshawar in the North to Hyderabad in the Deccan, and, even in provincial areas which claim distinct forms of speech for themselves and have literatures of their own, it is not at all rare to find large numbers of people familiar with this Imperial language. In the days of the Moghals, when Persian was the language of the Indian Courts and the channel of all official communications, this language was naturally known as the Hindi, the language of Hind, which means India. The word Hindi we find used in this sense and applied to the spoken language of the people till very lately, when the epithet Urdu came more largely into vogue, and the pernicious distinction arose between Hindi written in Sanskrit character and Hindi written in Persian character, and the former began to be regarded the exclusive possession of the Hindus, and the latter a special privilege of the Muhammadans. As it is alien to my purpose here to enter into the reasons why such a split arose, or to declare who is to blame for the creation of this unhealthy difference, I have preferred to call it Hindustani, a term, which, I feel, covers, or at least should cover, both Hindi and Urdu, and has the additional advantage of being more familiar to us all, as this use of the term has originated with Europeans in India.

I have roughly indicated the area over which Hindustani is spoken or understood. It is noteworthy that this area has vastly increased under the *Pax Britannica*, and the railways and the printing press have contributed in no small measure to the extension of the sphere of this language.

But it is not in its rapid spread within the boundaries of India itself that Hindustani is ahead of every other language in the country, but its progress in another direction is more marked still. With the growth of a spirit of travel and enterprise among the people, a natural result of the educational and other influences that they are receiving from the West, the language has begun to travel abroad, and may be heard to-day in China and Japan in the Far East, and in England and America in the West. In Africa you will find it spoken not only in the colonies of the South, but in Uganda and Mombasa, as well as Zanzibar in the East, you will find representatives of the Hindustani-speaking race, carrying with them the language of their country. British Guiana in South America, and Australia, have considerable numbers of Indians, who speak Hindustani among themselves, though they have acquired a practical knowledge of English for dealing with the English-speaking community around them. I have been in correspondence with Indian gentlemen residing in these distant parts of the British Empire, and they have often written to me in Hindustani, showing that they were still keeping in touch with their old home and its forms of speech and writing. Those who go abroad in search of livelihood, or with the intention of changing their domicile, may not always belong to the class who speak Hindustani in India, but as they almost invariably understand it, they find it the most convenient medium of exchanging ideas with their own countrymen, and gradually come to adopt it. Some idea may be formed, therefore, of the great possibilities of the expansion of this language, bound up as it now is with the British flag, and sure to follow where the flag leads. What was the origin of the now wonderful progress of the English language, which is used over a wider area of the globe than any other European language? It was the enterprise of Englishmen that took it to the obscurest corners of the world, so that there is hardly any place left where the ears of an English traveller may not be struck with the familiar

accents of his dearly-loved home from most unexpected quarters and on most unexpected occasions. I wonder if modern English pioneers of labour and enterprise in the remotest outposts of the Empire are conscious that they are opening the way for the expansion of another language, which has in its constitution elements very similar to English, and does not yield to it in powers of growth and development. Though yet in its infancy, it is proving itself capable of interpreting some of the subtlest thoughts of the best writers of English and assimilating some delicate terms of expression which were not long ago regarded beyond the capacity of any modern Oriental language. Its basis is the Sanskrit language, which has a literature superior to some and inferior to none of the ancient languages of man. The superstructure is furnished by literary Persian, which includes the influence of another great classical literature—viz., Arabic. With such a groundwork and such a fabric, what may not a language become, especially if it is ready to receive and assimilate whatever it can from other advanced languages?—and there is no gainsaying that Hindustani is pre-eminently receptive. Not only has its vocabulary grown since its contact with English, but its idioms, its mode of expression, and the style of its modern writers are receiving a strong impress of the Western influence, and the results of a careful engrafting of the culture of the West on the taste of the East are singularly happy.

One other phase of the expansion of Hindustani calls for some notice. In a few cases it has come in for recognition even in parts of the world which are under flags other than British. For instance, the Amir of Afghanistan has introduced it in the recently founded Habibia School, and it forms the medium of instruction in that school. Many will fail to understand this action of the Amir, but those who know the circumstances of the case can easily realize that no other way was open to him, and the stern law of necessity has in a strange manner opened the way for an Indian language in Kabul. It will be remembered

that the Amir expressed not long ago an intention of founding a college at Kabul for educating the youth of Afghanistan on Western lines, and the English language was to be the medium of instruction, both on account of the richness of its stores of learning, and as a practical demonstration of his friendly relations with the English Government. But the Mullahs made a strong protest against the introduction of English in the institution on what they regarded as religious grounds, and the Amir was forced to content himself with Urdu for the present, as a thin end of the wedge. It may well be asked, Why could not Persian be the medium? The answer is to be found in the simple reason that no text-books in Persian are available on history, geography, physical science, chemistry, and other subjects that form an important part of the curriculum of our schools. He found the text-books prepared in Hindustani in India by the Education Department of the Government in the Punjab convenient enough, the character in which they are written being Persian, and ordered them to be adopted, thereby paying a compliment to our Education Department, of which we have some reason to be proud. Some of our Hindustani books were also to be adopted, though with less innocent motives, beyond the territories of the Amir, in a school for the instruction in Hindustani of Russian military officers at Bukhara, the proposal to establish which was widely commented upon in the press not long before the commencement of the Russo-Japanese War, but the significance of which has been drowned in the turmoil of the disastrous war in which Russia is still involved. Whatever the motives of Russia in this innovation—and I think they are not very difficult to divine—it was obviously a triumph for Hindustani, and ought to have given a stimulus to the study of the language by our own military officers in India. The small colonies of Indian merchants lining the coast of Persia in the Persian Gulf have a number knowing Hindustani, and one should not be at all surprised if they succeed,



in course of time, in planting Hindustani on Persian soil. The Government of His Excellency Lord Curzon, who is very keen on establishing between Persia and India the same intimate commercial relations which existed in former times and have gradually become extinct, has been trying to open up the Nushki-Sistan route, and to induce Indian traders to make use of it—a movement which is sure to conduce in some degree to the propagation of the Hindustani language. Another small beginning of a contact between India and Persia has also a significance of its own, though it may appear too small even to deserve a mention. A dozen or so of Persian young men, belonging to the leading families of Tehran, were sent some time ago to the excellent college at Aligarh in India to receive education. They are still there, and if this experiment proves a success, which I hope it will, one should not wonder if Aligarh begins to attract a regular and growing supply of Persian youths, who may carry with them the language and literature of the country which they visit for purposes of study. To the visits, for religious purposes, of Indian Musulmans, to Mecca and Medina in Arabia, and to Baghdad and Karbala in Asiatic Turkey, is due the fact that the sounds of the language are not quite unfamiliar to the subjects of Turkey, and thus it is evident that numerous forces are at work, increasing every day the sphere of influence of Hindustani, and tending to make it a great and widely-used tongue.

This much for the possibilities that the future has in store for the language. Now we come to its literature. Referring once more to the Census Report, we find that 16,395 books of this language were printed in the last decade, including 10,879 in Urdu; that is a greater number than that of publications in any other language of India. This shows that we have here a fast-growing literature. Those who are familiar with the official analysis of the quarterly reports of our publications in India know full well that they are of a very mixed character, and contain

a good deal of trash or matter of ephemeral value. But making due allowance for these defects, which are to be found more or less even in the literatures of more advanced countries, there remains enough to justify the expectation that the language of Hindustan is going one day to possess a literature befitting the best traditions of the country, and holding its own with the literature of some older and richer languages. The early growth of this literature has been confined mostly to poetical works, and we have, in Hindustani, poets, the works of each of whom fill several large volumes. The last of this line of eminent writers has just passed away from our midst, and the old school of Urdu poetry has lost in him one of its greatest masters. I refer to Dāgh, whose death has been reported early this year in Hyderabad, and has caused universal regret in India. He was the laureate at the Court of His Highness the Nizam, and received in his lifetime an appreciation such as has fallen to the lot of few poets in the world, his stipend being £1,500 a year, besides the income he derived from his books and the gifts he received from his princely patron. He has left behind three *Diwans* or collections of verses, which are immensely popular, and one *Masnavi*, which is believed to be based on an interesting autobiographical episode. Another illustrious name in the Urdu literature of modern times was Amir, the famous lexicographer, who was engaged in the work of providing the language with an exhaustive and reliable dictionary, known as the *Amir-ul-Lugat*, which still remains incomplete, as the cruel hand of Death cut short his useful career about two years ago. But it is not on the half-finished lexicon that his fame mainly rests. His *Diwans* and the true poetry of his nature, which found expression in charming verse, are his chief claims to the attention of posterity. The *Diwans* of Dāgh and Amir, and of their illustrious predecessors, Zauq, Ghalib, Atish, Nāsikh, Mir and Saudā, can bear comparison with the verse of some of the best-known Persian poets, whose works have been presented to the Western

readers in excellent translations. These writings supply only one form of verse, and that is the *ghazal*; but that is because the *ghazal* has been so much in demand through the influence of Persia.

It goes but incidentally into the delineation of nature, the study of the sublime and the beautiful, and the admiration of the good and the noble things which enter so much in the conception of poetry in the West. But of one constituent of true poetry it treats exhaustively, and that is "the human heart." It analyzes with wonderful accuracy the subtle workings of the heart, and of that mysterious but overpowering passion, love. No phase of this great question has been lost sight of by the writers of *ghazal*, and this accounts for their success and popularity, and their lasting human interest. But whatever the justification of the course adopted by these writers of the old school, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that Hindustani literature cannot become a lasting force in modern India and the instrument of good that it ought to be unless its poetry flows into channels other than traditional, and shows the elasticity of spirit characteristic of the present age. The importance of this view is not only coming to be recognised theoretically, but in practice, and a school of young writers of great promise has arisen, who combine the culture of the East and the West, are imbued with the spirit of Tennyson and Wordsworth as much as with that of Ghalib and Hafiz, and are giving valuable contributions to the healthy literature of the day.

It is not, however, to poetry alone that the literary activity of the living writers of Hindustani is limited. We are entering just now on an age of prosperity in prose. We find instances in all ages, in every country and in every language, of poetry flourishing before prose, and the latter gradually taking the place of poetry as the language and its literature advance. The same has been the case in India. We find poetry gradually drifting into rhymed prose, and rhymed prose giving way to a simpler style

and the simpler style gaining in perspicuity, terseness, and effect, under the influence of English literature. With Ghalib, who lived in Delhi till after the Mutiny, originates a style in prose which has since found numerous imitators, and has as its ideal that heart should speak to heart in writing without any artificial aids that characterized the styles of earlier writers, who really despised prose, and when using it, tried to bring it in form as near poetry as they could. We have now some authors who write poetry in prose, but their poetry consists in the nobility of thought and expression, and not in the outward form of stilted rhyme. Ghalib, in his letters to his friends, which have been collected since his death, and form one of the most readable volumes in Urdu, adopted a style which will long serve as a model to the best writers of the language.

The service to prose rendered by Ghalib was continued by the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, whose highly successful efforts in the cause of education and reform, and in the foundation of the Aligarh College, have almost thrown into the background the rest of his life-work, not the least valuable part of which was that devoted to the development of the literature of his country. It was he who first discovered the now famous poet Hali, whose quatrains have recently had the privilege of being laid before the public in England in an excellent translation by Mr. G. E. Ward, M.A., a retired member of the Civil Service, and an enthusiastic student of Hindustani. It was round Sir Syed that some of the leading literary lights of his time gathered and shone. We find associated with him men like Maulvi Nazir Ahmed, LL.D., one of whose charming and original works may be seen in an English translation, which again we owe to Mr. Ward. The *Mirat-ul-Urus* ("The Mirror of the Bride"), as the story is named, depicts life behind the *purda*, and those interested in the condition of the female world of the upper class of Indian homes will find a faithful and reliable image of a typical young *purda* lady in Nazir Ahmed's "Mirror." In scenes of

life in Hindustani homes in Oudh, nothing can beat, or even approach, the admirable sketches presented in the voluminous prose works of Pandit Ratan Nath Sarshar, of Lucknow, a writer to whom our prose owes a lasting debt of gratitude. With him may be coupled the name of Sharar, another product of Lucknow, who, as a novelist, enjoys vast popularity. To Maulvi Muhammad Husain Azad is due the credit of a few works of very permanent worth and national importance, based on the history of India and written with the graceful ease of an accomplished master of style, which stand unrivalled in their literary finish and the force and simplicity of their language. The names of Hali, Shibli, and Zaka-Ullah cannot be forgotten as standard writers of biographical and historical works, thus meeting a long-felt want of Hindustani literature, and bringing it into line with literatures which glory in large stores of such books.

I have mentioned the names of those who occupy the front rank of prose writers, and it would be tedious if I were to give the long list of writers who come next to these, and have already secured a high place for themselves in literary circles. It would be equally tiresome to enumerate their works. I think I have said enough to show the reasonability of entertaining a hopeful view of the future of Hindustani prose, as its present condition is remarkably good, considering that it is but in its infancy. In the full bloom of its youthful vigour it is sure to do honour to those who gave it birth, and to those who reared it and carefully watched its growth.

Another department of literature which deserves notice is journalism, and though there is considerable room for improvement in it, yet it is a fact that can be very easily proved that Hindustani journalism is making a very fair progress. What is the standard of the general information of the average vernacular journal in India, and what the value of its political criticisms? are questions requiring a separate paper to themselves; but what we are concerned

with at present is the literary worth of our periodicals, and in that there are signs of a marked improvement, especially in monthly journals, some of which are doing work that is of more than periodical interest, and has a healthy influence on the general tone of the vernacular press. By far the largest number of our vernacular papers are weeklies, and some of them are now beginning to see the value of specialization. They devote themselves to particular branches of activity, and make themselves special organs of people following certain walks of life. They are serving splendidly as organizing agents, and one now actually knows in what quarter to seek for help in a particular cause. There are journals for ladies and for children; there are papers making a speciality of agriculture, of trade, and of industry; there are periodicals dealing with the business of the printer and the publisher, and there are newspapers for the general reader. There are organs of social reform movements or educational bodies, and there are journals trying to educate people in political or economic ideas. These are things that were not dreamt of two decades back, and very little known even ten years ago. All this has come into existence during the past few years, and the number of such productions is fast multiplying, and, what is of more importance, finding or making room for itself. Though nothing like the sound financial basis of the leading journals of England can be boasted of by most of the Indian periodicals, and complaints as to want of sufficient pecuniary support are often heard, yet it is remarkable that the journals have to-day more numerous readers than they ever had before, and are better off even financially, notwithstanding their great multiplicity and the growing keenness of the competition among them. Of dailies we have not many in Hindustani, and the time is yet to come for them to flourish, but the few we have are, on the whole, well conducted, and raise hopes of a brighter journalistic future.

Though languages and literatures grow naturally, and

artificial stimuli are little better than useless in their development, yet their growth, when naturally commenced, can be encouraged as well as guided by the co-operation of eminent literary men, and it is satisfactory to notice that the foundation of such co-operation has been laid by the formation of the "Aujuman-i-Taraqqi Urdu" and the "Nagri Pracharni Sabha," the one multiplying books written in Persian character, and the other those written in Nagri character, which is a Sanskritic alphabet. Both are endeavouring to supply the want of a copious vocabulary of technical terms, to facilitate translations of Western scientific works into the language. We welcome both, as their efforts are directed towards the achievement of the same object—the improvement of the literary and scientific treasures of the language of Hindustan. A language does not lose its real entity because it is written in a particular character. Hindustani written in Roman character remains Hindustani still. Even a few words more of Arabic or Persian in the one case, and a few more words of Sanskritic origin in the other, do not make any wonderful difference to the essential character of the language. If these two bodies could work in harmony and help each other, nothing could be more desirable; but if, in view of communal differences, they find co-operation impracticable, there is no reason why they should not be able to avoid friction, which can be easily done by each restricting itself to its own proper sphere and refraining from an aggressive policy towards the other.

It must be admitted that every educated Indian owes a duty to the language of his home, and should find some means of discharging it. But the rulers of India, too, owe a duty to the vernaculars of the country, and particularly to Hindustani, as the foremost and the most widely-used of them, which cannot be too forcibly pressed on their attention. Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, of blessed memory, good as she was in all that she thought and did, did India justice by making an honest endeavour to under-

stand its language, and thus set a noble example before the members of the Royal Family, as well as before the great English nation. Englishmen and Englishwomen who always follow royalty in matters of fashion may as well profit by the example of the late lamented Queen in a matter of duty. Reflect for a moment over the idea of governing a people whose language you do not understand, whose literature you do not appreciate, and with whose sentiments you cannot sympathize. No responsible English statesman who has to do with the administration of India, or is in any way in a position to influence the destinies of the country, should be without a knowledge of the people and their language, while a large number of the leisured class in England, who devote themselves to so many different intellectual pursuits and occupations, as fancy impels or curiosity moves them, may, with advantage, find pleasure as well as profit in a study of India, her people, and her literature. Is it not a pity that this metropolis of the world, which can boast of an organization or a society for almost every possible subject of investigation, and has arrangements for the study of every language, should be without any school of Hindustani and any society for the propagation of Hindustani literature? There are many of your readers whose interest in India is deep and personal, there are so many societies in London engaged in the good work of making India better known and understood in this country, and yet the chief means of effecting these objects, a study of the languages and the literatures of the country, is practically neglected. It may be said that the multiplicity of Indian languages stands in the way of any such organization. There is force in this objection, especially in view of the official bugbear with which the Census Report frightens us, when it tells us that there are no less than 174 languages spoken in India. Whatever the value of so exhaustive a survey for the purposes of ethnological research or other official hobbies, one can hardly resist the remark that statements of this



kind are of no use to the practical politician, who will find himself as well equipped as necessary for the due performance of his duties if he combines a good acquaintance with Hindustani with a workable knowledge of one provincial dialect ; while for the general reader in England, who wishes to acquire a first-hand knowledge of the people of India and of the trend of their modern literature, Hindustani alone would be quite sufficient, and would give him a fair idea of the chief characteristics of the Indian community.

The civilian who goes out to India to take part in the actual work of the administration requires a very thorough knowledge of the language, much more than the average civilian nowadays possesses. The civilians of an older generation were much better equipped in this respect, and found in their knowledge of the language a key to the hearts of the people. The language tests which the modern civilian has to pass before he is sent out, and the departmental tests prescribed in India, have two defects : In the first place, they do not require sufficient qualification ; and in the second place, they recommend as text-books works that have long been obsolete, and that employ an ornate style no longer in use or favour. The text-books of official examinations in Hindustani need a very careful revision to be brought up to date, and to prepare a careful course of choice selections from standard works of prose and poetry may be recommended as the best thing that can be done to furnish the members of the Indian Civil Service with a good knowledge of Hindustani. It is not seldom that one meets civilians in India, even in parts where Hindustani is the language of the Courts, who cannot speak a few sentences of Hindustani correctly, though they are supposed to have passed a special test in the language, and have to converse in it with some of their Indian visitors. On such occasions they talk Hindustani with a sweet disregard of the grammar and idiom which has become proverbial, and cannot enter into any but the most formal conversation.

We often hear of the mysterious undercurrents of Indian thought, which the Western rulers of the land cannot penetrate, and which the Oriental is said to carefully hide from them. But the key to that mystery lies before the Western rulers in the literature of the country, if they only take it up and try it. Instead of reading the periodical literature through the translations of their subordinates, who have it in their power to suppress whatever they like and to set forth whatever they desire, let the officials be able to read it in the original, just as they take up an English newspaper or magazine, and they will find themselves immensely well-informed on matters that now escape their notice. Whenever they hear of a book that has stirred the very soul of the people, let them take hold of it and read it, and try to find out the secret of its strength. They may study some specimens of the works of popular poets, and they will know the bent of the taste of the people. With this never-failing source of information at their service nothing will remain secret, nothing impenetrable. At present the case is quite different. The official world in India moves in one direction and the non-official mass of humanity in another. Matters that touch most deeply the thoughts of the people pass unheeded by the members of the ruling body, thus creating a gulf between the Government and the people which can never be bridged as long as the present indifference to vernacular literature remains, but, on the contrary, is likely to increase with the increased influence of literature which the future promises to bring with it. Once familiar with indigenous literature, you can take part in its development and shape its future course, so far as you may, in accordance with your own views. Leaving it alone, you lose not only a great possibility of intimate touch with the people, but place in their hands a power which may be wielded against the best interests of the Empire, for want of any responsible control or guidance.

I have tried to show that the Hindustani language has before it a future that is bright, and that its literature is full

of promise. I have shown that forces, both in India and outside, are at work in favour of its expansion. I may add that I regard these forces as irresistible, and believe that any efforts to the contrary, whether resulting from racial narrow-mindedness in the country or from the occasional obliqueness to which official vision in India is prone, may retard for a time the progress of the language, but cannot permanently stop it. Its future, however, can be shaped, and its promise brought nearer fulfilment by the Government of the land co-operating with the people in building up a literature worthy of the ancient traditions of India and of the genius of the great British Empire, under the influence of which Hindustani, at least in its present form, really began its career, and under the sympathetic guidance of which it expects finally to reach its goal and to take its place amongst the best literatures of the age.

## THE CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS AT ALGIERS.

*April 19-26, 1905.*

BY PROFESSOR DR. EDWARD MONTET.

THE Fourteenth International Congress of Orientalists, which numbered upwards of 700 enrolled members, was formally opened on April 19 at the Palais Consulaire (Chamber of Commerce), under the presidentship of the Governor of Algeria. In a well-conceived and excellent speech Mr. Jonnart, after having explained the importance of the Congress from an Algerian point of view, gave a rapid sketch of the great progress made by France in Algeria, of which the members of the Congress were able to give an account by a tour in such a splendid country. The distinguished and sympathetic Governor well demonstrated the practical side of scientific study. "Such research as yours," he said, "which beholds the man of yesterday and of to-day, is full of lessons for the politician, the Government, as well as the colonist. Oriental science is making clear to us the customs, traditions, laws, and the relationship of Musulman peoples, and becomes a valuable help to us in investigating the delicate problems to which the difference of races and religions gives rise."

Mr. R. Basset, Director of the École Supérieure des Lettres, the learned Arabist, was elected with acclamation President of the Congress. We shall say nothing about the official speeches made by the representatives of foreign governments and societies. Amongst these were two in Arabic, one by Shaikh Muhammad Sultan (Egyptian Government), thanking the President for this meeting of the International Congress; the other by the Hanifite Mufti, of the Mosque of Pêcherie, Boukandura, in celebration of the greatness of Islam and the benefits of civilization. It may be remarked, in this respect, that in Algiers the Hanifite rite is represented by this Mosque only, which is a relic of Turkish rule.

The Congress was divided into seven sections: I. India—Aryan and Indian Languages; II. Semitic Languages; III. Musulman Languages (Arabic, Turkish, Persian); IV. Egypt—African Languages, Madagascar; V. The Far East; VI. Greek and Oriental; VII. African Archæology and Musulman Art. Some sections were composed of very few members; on the contrary, the Musulman section, as was to be expected, was much patronized. The audience numbered between 80 to 100, a third being Musulmans. The Arabic language and literature, and everything connected with Islam, would naturally, in a Muhammadan country, occupy the first place. We therefore commence with this section by giving a short list of the principal communications.

*Musulman Section.*—Asin (Madrid): "Psychology according to Mohidin Aben al Arabi." Codera (Madrid): "Ancient and Modern Books existing

in Morocco." De Calassanti Motylinsky (Constantine): "The History of Ibn Serir" (an important work). Desparmet (Blidah): "Popular Poetry of To-day in Blidah" (very interesting). Hassen Husny Abdul Wahab (Tunis): "Sketch of Musulman Rule in Sicily." Martino (Algiers): "Muhammad and French Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" (interesting and well written). Massignon (Paris): "On the Geography of Morocco in the Sixteenth Century" (interesting). Huart (Paris): "Africa of Muzaffarian Geography, Fourteenth Century" (curious). Montet (Geneva): "The Zkara, are they Christians or Muhammadans?" Vollers (Jena): "The Literary and the Spoken Language in Ancient Arabia" (both important and extremely interesting: see below). Robert (Maadid, Algeria): "Contribution to the Folklore of the Natives of Algeria." Mirante (Algiers): "The Arabic Press" (important and very interesting). Feliu (Blidah): "Water Legislation in the Shebka of M'zab." Shaikh Muhammad Sultan (Egypt): "Divine Legislations, though differing from Each Other, all tend towards the Same Object; the Musulman Law is applicable to all Times; Obligation to educate Women according to Musulman Law" (in Arabic). Guidi (Rome): "Note on the Nasib of Arabic Poetry" (an interesting work read by Nallino). De Goeje (Leyden): "The Incasement of the Dead by the Ancient Arabs" (interesting). Shaikh Muhammad Asal (Egypt): "The Arabic Language can and must draw on its Own Basis to express Modern Ideas; a Means of bringing together the Concord of Arabic Dialects" (in Arabic). Muhammad ben Sheneb (Algiers): "The Ijāza of Sidi Abdul Qādir Al Fasi." Ben Haj Mokhtar ben Tahar (Chateaudun du Rhumel, Algeria): "Education in the Zavias" (interesting).

*Aryan Section.*—With this section is connected the very important work of Pullé (Bologna), presented to all the assembled sections, "On the Ancient Geography of Indo-China." Pullé, in accordance with the commission entrusted to him by the Congress of Hanoi, described a magnificent and very valuable collection made by himself of old maps in connection with the history of the geography of Indo-China. The walls of the hall of the Musulman section, where this communication was made, were covered by more than 200 maps, representing in a most exact and remarkable way the admirable collection of Pullé. Kirste (Graz): "Notes on Indian Paleogeography." Knauer (Kieff): "On the Origin of the god Varuna." Bloomfield (Baltimore): Presented the first part of a very rich and remarkable Vedic concordance. He examined several problems of Vedic lexicography. Windisch (Leipzig): "The Linguistic Character of Pali."

*Semitic Section.*—Hommel (Munich): "The Wedding Feast of the Sun-god of the Babylonians and the *Makhtan* of the King by the Arabs of the South." Haupt (Baltimore): "On Greek Philosophy in the Old Testament (Ecclesiastes)." Abbé Labourt (Paris): "A Nestorian Monk of the Seventh Century, Babaia the Great." Grimme (Friburg, Switzerland): "On the Position of Arzawa." Wessely (Vienna, Austria): "On a Very Important Papyrus of Vienna relating to a Tax on the Jews of the Town of Arsinoe (Medinat al Fayoum)." Abbé Nau (Paris): "Historical Note on the Monastery of Qartamin."

*Egyptian Section and African Languages.*—De Gregorio (Palermo): "The Etymology of the Derivative Prefixes of the Bantu Languages, taking the Shinyunga as a Basis." Mahler (Budapesth): "The Sothis and the Dates of the Moon of the Old Egyptians." Wiedemann (Bonn): "On the Worship of Animals in Egypt." Wessely: "A Methodical Observation for the Study of the Egyptian Topography of the Greek Epoch." Schmidt (Copenhagen): "On Egyptian Coffins and Sarcophagi." Destaing (Tlemcen): "The Beni-Snous Dialect." Gaudefroy-Demombynes (Paris): "The Shari Languages." Duchêne (Paris): "On the Problem of the Origin of the Peuls."

*The Far East Section.*—Cordier (Paris): Presented specimens of three xylographically printed works by the missionaries of Kouei-Tcheou in the latter part of the nineteenth century. T'ang Tsai-Fou (Paris, Chinese Legation): "A Chinese Work on the Marriage Customs of the Miao-Tseu." Chavannes (Paris): "Hindu Stories translated into Chinese." Pelliot (Hanoi): Points out the principal works published in Chinese by Musulmans, of which the first is not earlier than 1642.

*Greek and Oriental Section.*—Cumont (Gand): "On the Destruction of Nicopolis of Armenia in A.D. 499, according to the Syrian History of Josué the Stylite." Wassiliev (Dorpat): "Agapius of Membidj, the Arabian Christian Historian of the Tenth Century, as a document of the History of Byzance." Toutain (Paris): "The Worship of Egyptian Divinities at Delos." Kretschmer (Vienna, Austria): "The Formation of the Ordinary Greek Language at the Hellenistic Epoch." Krumbacher (Munich): "On the Oriental Elements of Byzantine Civilization."

*African Archaeological and Musulman Art Section.*—Mr. Basset: "The Camel amongst the Berbers." Flamand (Algiers): "The Prehistoric Camel in Africa." Lefébure (Algiers): "The Camel in Egypt." G. Marçais (Algiers): "Notes on Musulman Architecture."

To this short and very incomplete list of the work of the Congress,\* but at the same time quite sufficient to show the abundance and variety of the communications which were presented, we must add two conferences which were held outside the Congress, whose sittings were located at the École Supérieure des Lettres at Mustapha, but which were closely connected with the Congress. One, very interesting, was on Arab music, with performances of songs and pieces by native artistes, by Mr. Rouanet, Director of the "Dépêche Algérienne," which took place in the Grand Hall of the Palais Consulaire. The other was by Mr. Brunache (Aumale, Algeria), on the "Pilgrimage to Meccah," held in the Grand Hall of the Hôtel de Ville. Mr. Brunache, an Algerian administrator, had been deputed to accompany the Algerian pilgrims as far as Jeddah. His impressions of the journey and his observations are interesting.

I will now point out a few of the characteristic traits of the Congress of Orientalists of Algiers. Two are noteworthy: The first is the very large

\* I trust that those of my colleagues of whom I have neither mentioned their names nor their works will excuse me. I have confined myself to mention only those accounts which I myself heard, or those about which I had full and exact information from the authors or the auditors.

part taken by the Government of Algeria in the Congress. M. Jonnart belongs to this little group of colonial administrators who understand the great importance of scientific studies in the field of colonization, and who help the rôle of science and the activity of scholars by the great authority they exercise.

The second characteristic is the notable participation in it of the Musulman element, and the attitude taken by believers in Islam. This point deserves to be explained, because I do not think that, after the experience obtained at Algiers, it would be proposed to assemble, in a hurry, another Congress of Orientalists in the Musulman Orient.

It was in the Musulman section that the incidents I am bound to relate took place. Thanks to the great discretion exercised by the committee of that section, which was composed of Messieurs Goeje, president, Browne (Cambridge), and Montet, the vice-presidents, these incidents had no grave result. They occurred thrice during the presentations by Messieurs Vollers, Robert, and Arakelian (Tiflis) of their papers.

Mr. Vollers, in a memoir of the greatest interest, mentioned before, upheld the thesis, paradoxical, and in itself open to controversy, that the numerous readings of the Kuran show that it was never written originally in the form we have it to-day, but has been drawn up in its most ancient form, in a dialectic Arabic, analogous to existing dialects. Certain Egyptian Musulmans saw in this thesis a slur on the dignity of Islam and the divinity of the Kuran. One of them, a certain Shaikh 'Abd-al-'Aziz Chawache (Cambridge), constituted himself the eloquent and impassioned interpreter, in Arabic, of these sentiments, claiming for Musulmans only the sole study of the sacred book. Such affirmations were obviously altogether out of place. The Congresses of Orientalists are simply scientific, and for them, in that respect, there is no sacred book. This incident, like the succeeding ones, shows the unfathomable abyss (not too strong a word to use) which separates the Musulman from the European mind. Centuries of contact between Musulmans and Europeans are necessary in order to modify it.

The second incident was brought about by the paper, mentioned above, of Mr. Robert, an Algerian administrator. In speaking of the indigenous superstitions of Algeria, he referred again partly to the origin of Islam and the Kuran. There arose immediately angry protests from the Musulman element, and I must confess that they were in the right, and that in an African country, and, above all, in the Berber region, to make the Prophet and the Kuran responsible for a mass of gross superstition was wrong. The intervention of Mr. Brudo, also an Algerian administrator, restored things to their normal state, and the affair terminated.

A third incident was provoked by Mr. Arakelian, who wished to read a paper in reference to the massacres in Armenia, and to put a question to the Musulman savants present—whether or not the Kuran preached intolerance. The committee of the section obtained from Mr. Arakelian the promise of not reading his paper, lest it should provoke an unpleasant discussion. Mr. Arakelian had published his paper in a journal of Algiers, but the subject was a delicate one in the breasts of the Musulman section.

Several publications were issued during the Congress. In particular we may mention two large and interesting volumes of Oriental miscellanea, one published by the École Supérieure des Lettres of Algiers, and the other by the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes of Paris.

The fêtes in connection with the Congress were of a very brilliant character—viz., an admirable reception at the Palais d'Été by the Governor, a ball at the theatre, a *vin d'honneur* at the Hôtel de Ville by the Municipality, and a banquet by the organizing committee. Our sincere thanks are due to the Algerian authorities and to the distinguished President of the Congress, Mr. R. Basset.

During the Congress a very remarkable exhibition of ancient Algerian art was organized at the new and very pleasant Medersa.

At the closing sitting the Congress did not fix on any place for its next meeting, which probably may be Copenhagen. On the other hand, it has decided to revert to the decision of the Congress of Hamburg, and to publish the proceedings *in extenso*, for which we cordially congratulate them.



## THE ZKARA, ARE THEY CHRISTIANS OR MUSULMANS?

BY PROFESSOR DR. EDWARD MONTET, GENEVA.

IN a series of articles of great interest which appeared in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie et d'Archéologie de la Province of Oran*,\* Professor Mouliéras upheld successively the two following theses: (1) The Zkara are Christians; (2) they are free-thinkers in the modern sense of the word.

The Zkara, who form a population of 17,000 to 20,000 souls, and who speak a Berber language, the Znatia, a dialect of the Zenete Berbers, inhabit a country about 25 kilometres W.S.W. of Oujda, and include the greater part of the Jebel Zkara. Their tribe is divided into three portions: Oulad Muhammad, Oulad Moussa, and Akkmen.

*The Zkara are not Christians.* The fact cannot be taken into consideration that several members of this tribe have declared occasionally, "We are Christians." In reality they ignore Jesus and the Bible. As regards the relative monogamy that they practise, and the liberty which the women enjoy, we shall presently give a more plausible explanation. After all, the kind of carnival in which they turn to ridicule Jews and Christians possesses nothing particular as regards this Moroccan tribe, as over all Morocco this parody is customary.

*The Zkara are not Musulmans.* Professor Mouliéras has very well shown their anti-Islamism. They appear Musulmans only by necessity. Amongst them are but few Musulman proper names. Circumcision is not practised in general. The infant of the male sex is better welcomed at its birth. Allah is but rarely invoked. The Zkara wilfully ignore Muhammad, whose name is odious to them. The Kuran is unknown to them; neither Musulman ritual prayer nor the practice of fasting is adopted. They contract no marriages with Musulmans. They drink blood and eat the flesh of the wild boar.† They never use articles, such as spoons or shoes, which have been touched by Musulmans. They refuse to sleep in the mosques or the zāwias. Professor Mouliéras quotes a case of some young Zkara Islamized at Fez, and turned out by their tribe on their return to their own country. They attribute madness to the secret manoeuvres of the Musulmans; whilst, speaking of mad people, they say, "Musulmans have hit them." They deny the existence of angels, demons, and genii; the worship of saints is unknown to them; and they do not believe in a future life after death.

*The Zkara are Heretics.* They have special priests, the Rusma (that means consecrated), spiritual directors much venerated, forming a special

\* October to December, 1904, July to September, 1904, January to March, 1905. The last *Bulletin* only reached us after we had revised this note, but its contents have not altered our conclusions.

† I have seen in Morocco Musulmans eating the wild boar.

caste, entrusted with the care of Zkaran tradition; the sacerdotal functions are hereditary. The headquarters of the Rusma are at Maicha. Yet they have submitted, by a political vassalage, to the Marabout families of the Oulad Sidi Ahmed ben Yussef (1524-1525), the patron of several of the Saharan and Moroccan tribes tainted with heresy. They do not seem to have any religious bonds with the Oulad Sidi Ahmed, but they pay them the ziara, and this religious duty appears to have been imposed on them by force.

Some literate Musulmans look upon the Zkara as heretics of a Christian origin. The Rusma, who, according to themselves, pretend to be descended from the Sidi Ahmed ben Yussef, are, as well as their faithful friends, but Bdhadhouda, heretics, Abhadite Kharejites. The Zkara are but a fraction of a heretical group scattered elsewhere (Oued Es-Saoura, to the south of Igli; the Oued Guir; Tafilalet; Angad, close to the Zkaran country).

The Zkara, may they not be Druses? It is in virtue of a simple hypothesis that we propose this solution of the Zkaran problem, which has been suggested to us by an Englishman who has passed many years in the Lebanon amongst the Druses, Mr. Ahkisbany.

The Druses cannot be reckoned amongst Musulmans; their belief and their religious law, according to their writings, are completely anti-Islamic. If they believe in the unity of God, they reject, absolutely, the apostleship of Muhammad. They practise, as a consequence of the extreme facility of divorce, a relative monogamy; they observe fidelity in marriage, and amongst them the women enjoy the greatest liberty. There is no circumcision. They eat pork and drink wine. They believe neither in heaven nor hell. It is well known, in fine, that in Syria the Druses readily, for the sake of convenience or interest, declare themselves Christians or Musulmans.

Several traits of the Zkara, which have already been mentioned, tend to their being compared with the Druses. They are: their anti-Islamism, their denial of a future life,\* the facility with which they declare themselves Christians before a Christian. Before a Musulman, the Zkarans generally keep silent, or allow themselves to be thought Musulmans; as regards their submission to the Oulad Sidi Ahmed ben Yussef, to whom they pay the ziara, this is a guarantee of their pretended, but really false, Musulman orthodoxy. Regarding their relative monogamy, Professor Mouliéras cites an interesting case of the Kaid Remdhan, *rusmi*, who ate pork at the table of the professor of Oran, and also drank wine there. This Kaid married in succession several wives, continuing faithful to each during the continuance of each union. It is a relative monogamy resembling the style practised by the Druses. The liberty enjoyed by the women in the Zkaran country recalls to mind the analogous liberty of the Druse women.

\* The comparison, from this point of view, only concerns the denial of heaven and hell; the Druses, in reality, believe in a sequence of existences and successive purifications bordering upon the identification of the Supreme Being (Hakim, the tenth and last but one incarnation of God).

To these striking comparisons it is interesting to add certain facts noted by Mr. Ahkisbany. In 1893, in the Lebanon, a Druse Shaikh asked him if he had ever heard of a Druse colony established in Morocco. Mr. Ahkisbany called this conversation to mind whilst at Mequinez in 1898, when he was surprised by what a Moroccan fakih told him regarding a strange people in the east of Morocco, who, he affirmed, in the presence of Musulmans, called themselves Musulmans, but which they are not, and keep secret the faith they profess. But how can the emigration of the Druses to Morocco be explained? The Fatimite dynasty had in their employ some natives of South Algeria and the Atlas. Is it through this channel that the Druse heresy penetrated into the Maghreb, by losing its proper form in a singular manner, and not retaining any of its original characteristics but its anti-Islamism and several very special particularities of the sect?

## A TRIP TO THE ANCIENT RUINS OF KAMBOJA.

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL G. E. GERINI.

### PART III.\*

#### 15. DOWN THE THALÈ SĀB IN A ROW-BOAT (JANUARY 1 TO 3, 1903).

PROGRESS was continued until midnight, when the men steered straight into the inundated jungle of the margin for a rest. Sheltered in that, under a canopy of shrubs and parasitical undergrowth, we quietly passed the remainder of the night.

Next morning, Friday, January 2, at daybreak, we resumed our coasting journey, and soon left behind the mouth of the Kampong Chām River, which forms the actual boundary of the Siānese and French possessions, separating on the one side the district of Siēm-rāb from that of *C'hikraing* or *C'hī-krēng* on the other. I noticed a number of small craft anchored and moored a short distance up its entrance.

The lake continued to keep motionless, which was, for the time being, at least a good sign. It had been so naughty a few days before! Nevertheless, I noticed that my boatmen sedulously kept close to its margin, and took advantage of every byway and practicable channels offered by the islets of soft mud and submerged jungle that here and there line the edge of the lake. These form their cherished shelters in case of storm, and when none is found ready at hand the primeval jungle of the lake-shore is resorted to.

\* See *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of April, 1904, for Part I., and April, 1905, for Part II.

The boat is rowed and poled as far as it can go into its recesses, and there, if necessary, the boatmen jump into the shallow water and hold the craft steady for hours and hours until the fury of the waves abates and it becomes possible to resume the journey. In this respect the Thalē Sāb offers far greater advantages than other lakes which are equally rough through the impetuous sweep of the wind. It is a quite different story—when it blows hard—with certain self-conceited miniature freshwater seas of my acquaintance, such as old Larius (the Lake of Como), for instance, where even decked passenger steamers often have a pretty lively time of it. So that, for anyone whose web of life has been interwoven with thread—to put it Othello-like,

“ of most disastrous chances,  
Of moving accidents by flood and field,  
Of hair-breadth 'scapes i' th' imminent deadly breach,”

—this jungle-skedaddling trick had recourse to at the approach of storms by Thalē Sāb navigators proves a source of infinite amusement. The wrathful behaviour so much dreaded by native boatmen is usually assumed by the Thalē Sāb at the time of its greatest height, which occurs during the rainy and high-water seasons, occurring between June and December, when the lake increases to over double its size and six times its depth. For *Thale Sab* is a very elastic geographical expression, a variable quantity, according to season. When one says “Thalē Sāb” in summer and autumn, it means a sheet of water 140 miles in length by 50 in average breadth, whose ill-defined limits are the tree-tops of the surrounding plains; whereas the same term used in winter and spring would imply a vast sheet of dirty water 70 miles long by 20 broad at its widest point, fringed all round by large swampy tracts covered with low jungle, and quite unfit for human habitation. The reasons for these periodical changes have already been pointed out as originating in the variations in height of the Mē-Khōng's flow, the principal feeder of this reservoir. As regards its shape, the Thalē Sāb may be compared to an immense violin lying

in a north-west—south-east direction, with the handle pointing to the latter. The widest part of the belly forms the Great Lake proper, or, in local parlance, *Donlī Thom*, with the mouth of the Battambang River lying at the extremity of the tailpiece, and that of the Angkor or Siem-rāb water-course a little lower down on the right—*i.e.*, eastwards. The less wider part of the belly, separated from the former by a very narrow neck (dwindling to a mere five miles' width during the ebb season) constitutes the Little Lake, or *Donlī Tui* (or *Tonlī Tōch*), which is horseshoe-shaped towards the east, and twelve miles in either length or width when at its lowest. The violin handle would correspond to the lake overflow channel, stretching south-eastwards for some sixty miles to P'hnom-p'hēñ, where its junction with the stately Mē-Khōng occurs. Franco-Indo-Sinian\* cartographers have managed to foist upon these two portions of the Great Lake—as upon every other feature of Kambojan topography for which the travesty became possible—the new-fangled Annamese nomenclature of, respectively, *Camnan Dai* and *Camnan Tieu*. Let us hope that more sensible methods will prevail in future, and that the time-honoured as well as history-consecrated Khmēr names will be restored all over this region, even where new ones are already deeply rooted, in which latter case the former might at least be added within parentheses.

At the time of my last passage down the lake the level of the water had already decreased about 3 metres, judging from the muddy high-water mark left by the flood on the trunks and branches of trees on its margin during the preceding rise. Though the lake had dwindled down to considerably modest dimensions, it was impossible, from my point of view—in the centre of its widest part—to make out the opposite side, owing to its low-lying borders. Nor was there anything else to intercept the view for a good stretch round, except towards the south, where the dark jagged profile of the mountains of Pursat and the

\* I coin this new word after the style of "Anglo-Indian."

rounded tops of the Samrong-sën hills detached themselves on the hazy background of the horizon.

That interminable stretch of turbid brownish waters, undrinkable except by the wretched natives who cannot help it; that dull polished surface shining under the rays of the sun like a huge caldron of molten pitch or lead, and reflecting them with a dazzling glare that was a torture to all but underworldly eyes, aptly reminded one of Dante's Stygian Lake of "inky hue," combined with Milton's "fierce Phlegeton, whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage."

But what above all struck one unpleasantly was the desolate, dreary, and silent aspect it presented, in so far, at any rate, as human beings were concerned. Human habitations are, of course, confined to the inner reaches of the creeks and watercourses disemboguing into it, and to the cultivated tracts, which all lie far back, beyond the periodically flooded zone. But apart from this, not a sign of the *animal implume bipes*, whether afloat or ashore, or even momentarily passing to and fro. The whole day long not a single craft did I see, except those anchored within the mouths of the Kampong Châm and C'hî-krëng Rivers.

There is, nevertheless, one season during which the solitary lake assumes an intensely animated aspect, and that is between February and June, when its low waters, barely 5 or 6 feet deep, permit of the grandest fishing that is perhaps obtainable in any part of the world. Here the industry is indulged in by natives and foreigners from all neighbouring nations, whether Khmër, Chinese, Malays, or Annamese, the last, however, predominating. Thousands of small craft then plough the waters, so to speak, for these are then but little more than a liquid slime, loaded with fishing-tackle and active crews; hundreds of temporary fish-curing establishments are constructed of bamboo-caness and wicker-work, as if by magic, close to its muddy margins, and at times not far from its very centre, crowded with people of both sexes and of every age, and forming true

lacustrine villages, doubtless not far different from the type (remains of which still exist in that neighbourhood) of a remote neolithic age. Then the wholesale destruction of the fish begins. The numbers of these creatures that become entrapped within the immense reservoir at the fall of its waters—for there is no possible escape for them, the lower and sole outlet of the lake being then only a stretch of mud—are simply enormous. And despite the Kilkenny-cat-like fighting that takes place among them, so large is the survival of the fittest that, after deductions made of what is set apart for local consumption, over 8,000 tons of the salted and dry product are annually exported. The lake is thus a great feeding and natural aquarium for the populations all round.

But it is yet more, especially to its frequenters, as I soon discovered to my astonishment; it is an inexhaustible source of firewood supply. Whenever my men wanted to cook their meal and had run short of fuel, they simply steered for the primeval jungle fringing its borders, and there, breaking a few of the numerous dry branches lying within reach, they soon got what they wanted, not only for the time being, but for a whole day or more, *ad libitum*. By the way, while upon the subject of my boatmen, I was getting on admirably well with them. Accustomed to the oar, as all riverine populations of Indo-China are, they scarcely left their fatiguing work except during the exceedingly short intervals devoted to their meals, to roll up and light a native cigarette, or to take a little refreshing sleep in the middle of the night. Although unable to talk aught else but Khmër, their conversation, which was both interesting and varied, was pretty well intelligible to me. For the few days' recent residence in Kamboja had furbished up my knowledge of that language, which, although only superficial, had been getting quite rusty during the long lapse of years in which I was unable to practise it. So I succeeded in killing ennui, and all the way was my own licensed interpreter, and for my boy as well, who, being a Tonkinese



fresh from [the banks of the Red River, knew no other tongue but his own, and a slight smattering of the delicious *Petit Nègre*. This poor fellow of *Hai*, for such was his name, used to get sea-sick at the slightest suspicion of a roll, and that in the *Thalē Sāb*, too, but was in every other respect a model "boy," so far as this term goes in Indo-China. Towards the evening, as well as already in the morning, large flocks of water-birds could be seen everywhere, attracted by the abundant food offered them by this well-stocked reservoir: gray herons and cranes, snow-white egrets and pelicans, brown bitterns and brilliant Jabiru storks, with swarms of fish-hawks and other birds of prey hovering around—the vanguard, in fact, of the winged and web-footed host that will soon contend with man for a share of the superabundant harvest during the low-water season.

By 5 p.m. I arrived abreast of the mouth of the C'hī-Krēng River, having traversed upwards of twenty miles, and forthwith entered the narrow neck separating the Greater from the Lesser Lake. Shortly after midnight a stop was made in the jungle near the mouth of an outlet of the *Donkī Ch'ma*, or "Lake of the Cat," a round-shaped lakelet situated about three or four miles inland towards the east. We were now within a short distance of the lesser or lower basin of the *Thalē Sāb*, and the task of crossing it was reserved for next morning.

#### 16. AT LOGGERHEADS WITH THE LESSER LAKE; A HAPPY "DELIVERY" (SATURDAY, JANUARY 3).

We rose at dawn full of hope, and confident of reaching C'hnok-trū and finding there, very probably, a steamboat early in the afternoon, as the down current, which is there much stronger, would have considerably helped us on. The dreaded Greater Lake had, like all things great, this time been caught nodding—*aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus*—and its crossing, accordingly, was successfully

accomplished ; as to its comparatively insignificant appendage, the Lesser Lake, we had no anxiety about it. So we set out in the best of spirits.

It was only after having turned the last corner that hid the lake from our full view that our hopes became somewhat damped, as well as our boat and belongings. A stiff breeze was blowing from the east over the full width of the horseshoe-shaped lake, sending fairly sized waves across our bows ; for, as our route lay nearest to the eastern border of the lake, we were here exposed to the full force of the swell. My boatmen wavered and frantically groped about at random with their long oars ; my boy crouched awe-struck and sea-sick at the bottom of the boat. This soon became unruly and danced in violent antics, wildly belaboured by the heavy waves. The men declared it was impossible to proceed. I curtly told them to mind their own business and leave theorizing alone. So we managed to continue for about half an hour, making hardly more than half a mile headway, whilst matters were growing worse. At last three or four big rollers broke in succession across our bows and half swamped the boat, almost completely submerging it ; my men fell on their knees and entreated me, for our lives' sake, to turn back. I was bitterly disappointed at the prospect of having to give up the contest with a little naughty pond like that ; but it was no use : even had we tried it all day, there was no possible hope of getting across the lake at that rate and under such conditions. The boat was undecked, and therefore liable to be completely swamped and sunk at any moment ; this, quite apart from entailing the loss of our few belongings and depriving us of the means of continuing the journey, which was of some importance, would have placed us at the mercy of the numerous crocodiles that infest those waters, which was a far weightier consideration. Having always most stubbornly objected to becoming an easy meal for those voracious monsters, the boatmen's argument prevailed at last, and I gave my consent to turn tail. So what the Great Lake had respected

its little companion scorned ; and I was checked, there could be no doubt about it.

In a few minutes we reached one of those submerged islets of mud and shrubs, true floating oases of that floating desert that frequently occur in those parts ; and under the lee of which we moored, close by a cluster of fishermen's huts that had precociously been erected there on the usual high posts, with a view to an early beginning of the fishing and fish-curing season. The occupants were a few Annamese families ; the industry had already commenced, and salted fish were exposed about on latticed platforms to dry in the sun. I noticed that they were mostly cat-fish, a far from tempting dainty. To this variety alone, however, is not confined the fauna of the lake. There are known to be upwards of thirty species of fish, ranging from the tiny perch to the gigantic barbs, and even cetaceans, besides the insatiable crocodile and hosts of clamorous batrachians. Nor is the industry of fish-curing solely confined to salting, cleaning, and drying ; but fish-oil and ichthyocol are extracted, and those mysterious concoctions prepared, which, under the name of *pha-ak* and *prahok*, are justly renowned as the most horribly stinking and repugnant products in this line, leaving far behind even the famed *niak-mam* of Cochin China.

Those piscatorial scenes more than forcibly reminded me of the pretty kettle of fish that formed my lot at the moment. What was to be done ? Wait ? If so, for how long ? Until it pleased his Lacustrine Grace, the naughty godling of the little pond, to cease his antics ? Not being conversant with the vagaries of the Lesser Lake, I held a war-council with my men ; but these seemed unable to form an estimate as to how long the adverse weather would last. Thereupon I got my boy, who had just crept out of his retreat in the bottom of the boat, and was no longer sea-sick, to try and communicate with the Annamese fishermen belonging to the neighbouring boats ; but after a few words had been exchanged, he told me that, as their Low Cochin-Chinese

patois differed from his own classical Tonkinese, he could not make out distinctly what they said. Ultimately, however, through the medium of Khmër, of which those people had some knowledge, we understood that the fury of the waves would considerably abate in the afternoon with the veering of the wind to the south, when, on restarting, a swell growing lesser and lesser would be encountered as one advanced towards the outlet of the lake. These favourable prognostics gladdened me, and so I set about passing the intervening time by having a bath, my lunch, and a smoke, and also a chat with my men and our temporary neighbours.

In the course of this conversation I learnt many a weird tale about both the Greater and Lesser Lake, from which I saw that the skipper of the *Bassac* was not greatly exaggerating when he gave me the hint never to navigate the lake in a small boat. But the most striking fact I gleaned was that the Khmërs, in their naïve, imaginative way, have allegorically typified their dread of crossing the lake in a surprisingly curious phrase—*C'hlong Tonlā*, which, though literally meaning "to cross the lake," has become a byword for "confinement," thus comparing the toilsome and not unriskey journey to the painful labours of parturition. Yea! so true it is that there is no end of novel surprises in the ways of human thinking. So that, from the native point of view, my failing that morning to effect a crossing of the lake was tantamount to a miscarriage. In faith, I was no more aware of having done such a thing than Monsieur Jourdain on being told, to his utter astonishment, that he had been talking prose all his life. And it flashed upon my mind what far more suggestive metaphor Byron would have had ready at hand had he been aware of this queer phraseology of the Thalē Sāb borders, when he had to seek in the aggregate of the daily bother of shaving, the counterpart in man for the travail of childbirth in the gentler sex.

With the help of such diversions the ennui of forced in-

action was whiled away until 1 p.m., by which time the wind had really veered to the south, as our Annamese acquaintances of the hour had predicted, and the fury of the waves had considerably abated. So I roused up my men, determined this time to get the best of that Slough of Despond.

As we proceeded the outlook continued to improve, in accordance with the fishermen's forecast, and, although the wind was against us, the current far more than made up for that drawback by speeding us on our way down. By 7 p.m. we had left the freaky little lake behind us, thus accomplishing this time a successful "delivery"!

We soon found ourselves amongst a labyrinth of channels winding among the numerous half-submerged islets that occur between the outlet of the Lesser Lake and a third basin, so to speak—the *Veal-p'hok*, or "Mud Plain"—further down. It was pitch-dark, but here and there rows of lights glittered on the waters and amongst the foliage; and wafted on the breeze from all those sinuous alleys came the lively strains of native flutes, stringed instruments, gongs, and drums, belonging to different bands, evidently in motion, for some died away in the distance, whilst others became louder, as if approaching. One would have thought that some great festival was going on in those parts. But it was nothing of the sort. When the bands approaching our way drew near, it was discovered that they belonged to Annamese fishing-boats, whose crews took turns alternately at the oars and at musical diversion. Such is the wont of these people while setting out to fish or coming back with the spoil, or when otherwise journeying about by water. It serves both as an amusement and as a mutual intimation of their whereabouts. So here at least there were unmistakable signs of life, and not wholly dull, either; after the long, dreary solitude of the lake, it was like being ushered into a new world.

At 9 p.m. we arrived at the islet of C'hnok-trū, a homonymous hamlet, the centre of the salt-fish trade in those parts. Another disappointment met me here: no

steam-launch was visible, either moored or in motion. Upon inquiry from the villagers, we learnt that the steam-boat service had been stopped for the season, owing to the water on the "Mud Plain" further down having got too shallow for steamboats to pass. So there remained no other course open but to continue our journey down as far as the next steamboat station—to wit, Kampong C'h nang. Accordingly, after allowing my men a brief spell to procure some needful provisions, I set off again, determined to travel the whole night in order to reach, favoured by the current ever increasing in swiftness as we proceeded, Kampong C'h nang early next morning before the down-launches left. Our course lay first through the broad expanse of the Vēal P'hok, or "Mud Plain," and then down the dedalic network of channels, forming the connecting-link between the lacustrine region just passed and the majestic Mē-Khōng.

17. ON BOARD A STEAM-LAUNCH AT LAST; MY ADIEU  
TO KAMBOJA.

At 6.30 a.m. next morning (Sunday, January 4) I reached Kampong C'h nang; my boatmen had done wonderfully well, never resting from pulling the whole night through. No less than thirty miles had thus been travelled since 10 p.m. the night before, when leaving C'h nok-trū, a very creditable performance. With unmixed satisfaction I at once noticed that no less than three steam-launches lay moored alongside the floating houses forming the front of the village, with their steam up. Having picked out the best-looking one, which bore the name of *Anton* painted on her bows, I soon transferred myself on board with my belongings, and my inseparable underling of Hāi, now brimful of delight and entirely oblivious of past hardships. I paid and suitably rewarded those boatmen who had so devotedly served me, and safely conveyed me down in their frail craft for upwards of ninety miles, through the dreaded Thalē Sāb and its outlet. And, above

all, I did not forget to put in writing, and hand them for bringing back with them, the indispensable *samp'hot* that was to restore to the goodly headman of their native village the peace of his soul. In a few minutes more the third whistle was blown and we were off, bidding adieu to our former floating dwelling and its hardy crew.

The *Anton*, though a native-owned boat, was a fast one, and conveyed us down at racing speed through the innumerable channels and sinuous bends of the river. By 1 p.m. we were moored at the river-bank at P'hnom-p'hōñ, and in a few more minutes I found myself for the first time, after ten days of continuous wandering, sitting down to a comfortable luncheon in the Grand Hotel's dining-room of that town.

The subsequent portion of my return journey I need not describe in detail. Next morning, January 5, I left in the *Hainan*, a splendid launch of the Messageries Fluviales, and the same evening at 10 p.m. bade farewell to the Mě-Khōng as we entered the canal of *Chō-gao*, which, through the delta and the numerous watercourses that intersect it, connects the Mě-Khōng with the Saigon River. Thus, owing to this short-cut we were spared the longer journey round by the sea, and on the morning following, January 6, we safely landed at Saigon.

Here I found, to my surprise, that the steamer for Bāng-kōk was not to start for another five days, which piece of news made me sorry about having hastened down in such a hurry, whereas I could have more profitably spent an equivalent number of days among the Angkor ruins. I endeavoured, at all events, to make use of this extra spare time by visiting the few places of interest to be found in Saigon and its neighbourhood. But although distractions are not wanting in that former capital of French possessions in Indo-China, and its theatre—that sparkling jewel of modern architecture that has no rival throughout the East—was open with both dramatic and operatic performances of no mean description, nothing compensated me

sufficiently for the loss I had incurred in not being able to devote those few days to the fascinating ancient monuments of Kamboja.

Having enjoyed for a last time, the evening of January 10, the diversions offered by that luscious Europeanized Oriental city by listening to old Gounod's "Roméo et Juliette"—new, I suppose, to such an out-of-the-way place—I sailed next day on board the *Donai* bound for Bāng-kōk, bidding farewell to good young Hāi, who had had enough of travelling, as he thought, so far, that it seemed to him to have reached the farthest limit of the inhabited world. He yearned to get back to his native Tonkin, and out of pity for the poor fellow's misgivings I consented to our parting, and off he went happy in his own way.



## AKBAR'S REVENUE SETTLEMENTS.

BY H. BEVERIDGE.

As India has always been pre-eminently an agricultural country, the question of the land revenue must have been of supreme importance from very early times. Originally, it is said, the Sovereign claimed only one-sixth of the produce. This is the amount mentioned by Abul Fazl as having been levied in old times, and the rule laid down in *Manu* is that "of grain, an eighth part, a sixth, or a twelfth may be taken by the King," according, says the commentator, to the difference of the soil and the labour necessary to cultivate it. But if ever the demand was really so low as this, it was afterwards increased, and became one-third or one-half, and even higher. Speaking of Cashmere, Abul Fazl says: "Although one-third had been for a long time past the nominal share of the State, more than two shares was actually taken; but through His Majesty's justice, it has been reduced to one-half" (*Jarrett's translation*, ii. 366). As is well known, the share of the crop taken by the landholder in the province of Bihar is rather more than one-half, being nine-sixteenths of the whole.

Many Indian Sovereigns must have given their attention to the question of the land revenue, but the most noted among the Muhammadan rulers seems to be 'Ala-uddin Khiljī, who flourished in the beginning of the fourteenth century. He was a great, though a despotic, administrator, and several of his measures were adopted by the great Sher Shah.

The earliest official figures of a revenue settlement in India appear to be those given in a list preserved in the *Memoirs of the Emperor Bābar*. Curiously enough, the list occurs only in the Turkish original of the *Memoirs*, and not in the Persian translation. Perhaps it was overlooked by the translator on account of its being already in Persian.

It occurs, however, in the Persian paraphrase of the Memoirs made by Bābar's secretary, Shaikh Zain. As has been remarked, the fact that the list is in Persian, and not in Turki, shows that it is official, and that Bābar obtained it, in part or in whole, from the archives of the Pathan kings of Agra. The list is given in Ilminsky's edition of the Turki text, and in Pavet de Courteille's translation. It also appears in the first volume of Mr. Erskine's "History of India," Appendix C, he having taken it from Shaikh Zain's paraphrase; and there is a notice of it by Mr. Beames in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal for 1898, and by Mr. Thomas in his "Chronicles of the Pathan Kings," p. 387. The list contains thirty entries, and includes the Panjab, the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, parts of Rajputana and of Bihar, but not Bengal or Orissa, or any portion of Northern India. A note about Mewāt—*i.e.*, Alwar, etc.—says that this province was not included in the rent-roll in the time of Sikandar.\* This shows that the list is an amended copy of a statement prepared in the reign of Sikandar, who was the second last of the Pathan Kings, and the father of Ibrahim Husain Lodi, whom Bābar defeated and slew at the Battle of Panipat in 1526. Sikandar reigned from 1488 to 1517, and was a capable and active administrator and the introducer of the Sikandari *gaz* (yard), etc. Bābar tells us that the territories mentioned in the list yielded 52 *krors* of *tankas*, but that lands to the value of 8 or 9 *krors* of this amount were in the possession of tributary Rajahs. As the list is based on Sikandar's rent-roll, we cannot doubt that the *tanka* mentioned in it is the Sikandari *tanka*, which is stated by Mr. Thomas to be the twentieth part of a rupee. Probably the rupee at that time was worth half a crown, and so the *tanka* was equal to three halfpence, but for convenience we may take the rupee as worth two shillings. The 52 *krors* of the list, then, are 520 millions of *tankas* (for the *kror* is 10 millions, and not 1 million), and thus at two shillings the rupee would be worth about £2,600,000.

Probably this is the correct amount, though Mr. Erskine, by a different mode of calculation, makes the amount to be £4,212,000.

Abul Fazl tells us in the *Ayeen-i-Akbari* that from the beginning of the reign intelligent and honest persons had been employed to ascertain the current prices of purchase. But though, according to a statement in the *Akbarnāma* (ii. 270), the first settlement of the revenue took place in the time of Bairam Khan, it rather appears from another passage in the same work (ii. 111), and from Jarrett (ii. 88), that the first settlement was made in the fifth year and just after Bairam's fall. Gladwin, however, puts it into the fourth year. At any rate, it seems to have been made by Khwājah 'Abdul Majid, a native of Herat, and originally in the service of Akbar's father, Humāyun. When he was made Vizier, or Financial Minister, 'Abdul Majid received the title of Āsaf Khan, who is considered by Muhammadans to have been the Prime Minister of King Solomon, and so the revenue-roll established by him may be known as Āsaf Khan's settlement. It was a very imperfect measure, for the extent of Akbar's possessions was very small at the time, and there was little or no opportunity for local inquiries. It was based chiefly upon conjecture, and as it was necessary to satisfy, or at least to appear to satisfy, a great number of hungry retainers, the estimates erred especially by excess, and were in many cases not realized. Abul Fazl calls it a *Jama-i-Raqami Qalami*—"A written settlement according to the kinds of produce." Perhaps the word *Qalami* was meant to signify that it was more a paper settlement than a real one, and probably *Raqami* here means that the settlement was made according to the market value of the various kinds of agricultural produce. It may, however, refer to the amounts of revenue being employed in the *Raqam* or *Siyāq* notation—that is, in contractions of Arabic words instead of in Hindi. In the eleventh year of the reign, 1567 (*Akbarnāma*, ii. 270), Āsaf Khan's settlement was, by Akbar's orders, set aside by Muzaffar Khan, another

Persian financier, and a new settlement was effected, based on information given by Qānūngūes and others. Badayunī (Lowe's translation, 64), it may be noted, puts this settlement earlier in the reign—viz., in 971 H., or 1564—and it also appears from his account and from the Āyeen (Blochmann's translation, 13), that 'Itinād Khan, a eunuch, and whom Badayunī calls Todar Mal's predecessor, had a good deal to do with it. In the Āyeen (Jarrett, ii. 88) Abul Fazl seems to write of Muzaffar's settlement as having been made in the fifteenth year, and not in the eleventh; but I think that fifteenth is a mistake of the text for eleventh. In Persian writing there is, practically, only the difference of a subscribed dot between *yazdahum*, eleventh, and *panzdahum*, fifteenth, and mistakes are continually occurring. True, Abul Fazl speaks, a little lower down, of a settlement made from the beginning of the fifteenth year; but this, though it may have contributed to the copyist's error, does not show that fifteenth was right in the first passage, for it is evident that when, in the second passage, Abul Fazl speaks of the fifteenth year he means Todar Mal's settlement, which was made in the twenty-seventh year, apparently (see Akbar-nāma, iii. 381), but was based upon the rates prevailing from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth year.

Speaking of Muzaffar's settlement, Abul Fazl says that it was not really a *hal-i-hasil*—i.e., a statement of actual produce—but that it deserved this name by comparison with the previous settlement. In the Āyeen (Jarrett, ii. 88) he says that ten *qanungues* were appointed to collect the accounts from the local *qanungues* (*qanunguan-i-juzw*), and to lodge them in the Imperial exchequer. The local *qanungues* must have been several hundreds in number, for, as we learn from Jarrett (ii. 66), there was one in every district—that is, as the original shows, every *pargana*. Abul Fazl adds that the total of Muzaffar's settlements was somewhat lower than the previous settlement, but that there had been a great difference between the latter and the actual receipts.

The third settlement was made in the beginning of the twenty-seventh year—that is, in 990 H., or 1582—and was effected by Todar Mal. It was based on inquiries made concerning the value of produce, etc., during the ten years from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth year of the reign, and the delay of two or three years in effecting the settlements was doubtless due to the Bengal rebellion and other distracting events. Though this settlement of 1582 is the great event which has immortalized Todar Mal's name, it appears from Badayūni (Lowe, 192; Elliot, v. 183; and the Akbarnāma, iii. 117) that there was a great attempt made to deal with the land question in the nineteenth year of the reign—that is, in 1574. Badayūni and Nizām-uddīn speak of it as dealing mainly with the subject of waste lands. It had struck Akbar that much of the cultivable land was lying waste, and that an effort should be made to extend the cultivation. Abul Fazl represents the measure as one converting the whole of India into Crown land. The custom of assigning lands was apparently abolished, and in lieu of this officers received money allowances. One hundred and eighty-two collectors (*'Amil*) were appointed to superintend the arrangements. The waste lands were divided into blocks, which were regarded as capable, when the lands were brought under cultivation, of yielding a *kror* of *tankas*, or *dams* (for the words seem to have been used indiscriminately; see Blochmann, 13); and each of them was put under one of the 182 collectors, who, on this account, received the name of *krori*. The arrangement did not apply to Bengal, Bihar, or Gujrat, and, of course, Kābul, Cashmere, etc., were not included in it, as they were not yet conquered. According to Badayūni, the appointment of *kroris* led to great oppression—of the peasantry in the first instance, and afterwards of the *kroris*. He says that the waste lands were measured (with a view to resumption), and that the measurement began in the neighbourhood of Fathpūr. The blocks of land received names after the prophets, such as Adampūr, Sethpūr, and Jobpūr; but

apparently the plan was not fully carried out, though the name *krori* long continued to be used. Doubtless there must have been much difficulty in deciding what were waste lands and what were peasants' holdings, and there would be great room for oppression. It is evident that what were called waste lands or jungles were often of the utmost value to the peasant, and could not be resumed or assessed without great injury to him. As remarked by Mr. Colebrooke, "it is not upon the cultivation of grain that the peasant depends for his profit, or even for his comfortable maintenance." The waste lands supplied pasture for his cattle, bamboos for his houses, etc. Badayūni compares the position of the *kroris* to that of the Hindus in Assam, who, like Calypso's lovers, lived in great plenty for a season, and then had to cast themselves under the wheels of the idol's car. Meanwhile, a great part of the country had been laid waste, and the wives and children of the peasantry sold into slavery. It was also in the nineteenth year that bamboo-rods joined together by iron rings were substituted as measures for the ropes formerly in use.

It is necessary to observe that though the term "settlement" is used both by Gladwin and Jarrett, it does not occur in the headings of the chapters in the original which deal with the matter of the "nineteen years'" and "ten years'" arrangements, and that the so-called ten years' settlement differed very much from a decennial settlement is understood by the revenue officers of British India. The terms *bandobast* or *Taqsim-i-Jama* are not used by Abul Fazl, though he does use the expression *Jama-i-dah sala*, and the headings for the nineteen years and the ten years chapters are the same—viz., "Āyeen," i.e., Regulation; though in the one case this has been rendered "rates" and in the other "settlements." The period of nineteen years was probably taken from Meton's cycle. It overlaps the ten years period, but the latter differs from the first or nineteen years set of tables in that it was more carefully made, and that it contains the rates for the local

subdivisions of a subah or province instead of only for the whole subah. The so-called ten years' settlement did not, apparently, at all do away with the necessity for annual inquiries and measurements. It did not fix the rents or revenues for ten years. It only fixed the prices of agricultural produce, and so did away with the annual wrangle about market rates. Revenue or rent was still paid according to the special crop grown, and as this must be liable to variation every year, or indeed every six months, it must have been necessary to hold local inquiries once or twice a year. Moreover, it was impossible without local inquiry to know to which of the three descriptions of land,—the good, the middling, and the bad—the fields cultivated in a crop, special or ordinary, belonged, and on the decision of this point the question of the amount of rent turned. The probability is that neither Todar Mal nor his subordinates dealt directly with the actual cultivator. In Todar Mal's suggestions (*Akbarnāma*, iii. 381) it is stated that the collector's two clerks collude with the village headman (*kalantar*), and defraud the cultivator, and the only remedy that he suggests is that one respectable clerk should be substituted for two dishonest ones. We also find in the instructions to the collector (Jarrett, ii. 44) that the village headman is to get an allowance of half a *biswa* in the *bigha* (one-fortieth) if by his exertions the rental of the village has been raised to its full capacity.

According to Abul Fazl, Todar Mal's settlement was based on the cash value of the produce of a *bigha* during the ten years from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth. The rates for the ten years were aggregated, and a tenth of the total was fixed as the annual assessment. For the first half of the ten reliance was placed on figures supplied by trustworthy persons, and for the second half the prices of the produce of a *bigha* were accurately determined. In the *Ayeen* Abul Fazl gives us lengthy tables showing the cash value of the Government share (one-third) per *bigha* of various kinds of produce for nineteen years—viz., from

the sixth to the twenty-fourth years—in the provinces of Agra, Allāhābād, Avadh (Oudh), Delhi, Lahore, Mālwa, and Multān. The tables are expressed in *dams*—i.e., in a coin valued at the fortieth part of a rupee—and they extend over nineteen pages of Jarrett's translation. There are also some tables, giving the average produce of a *bigha*. At page 63 it is explained that there are three descriptions of *polaj*—i.e., annually cultivated land—viz., good, middling, and bad. For example, the first class yields 18 *maunds* of wheat, the second 12, and the third 8 *maunds* 35 *sirs*. These three being added together, the amount comes to 38 *maunds*. 35 *sirs*. One-third of this, or 12 *maunds* 38 *sirs*, is the medium produce, and one-third\* of this, again, represents the Government demand. As the amount of produce may seem very large, it should be explained that the *bigha* in question is much larger than the ordinary Bengal *bigha*, and amounts to  $\frac{5}{8}$  of an acre.

Akbar's revenue was chiefly, but by no means entirely, realized in cash. Thus in Bengal all rents were paid in cash, but in Ajmere the amount so paid was very trifling. The proportion of produce paid in this province—namely, one-seventh or one-eighth—was unusually small. Perhaps it was not easy to get more out of the Rajputs, and perhaps also the cultivation in the arid tracts of Rajputana was regarded as extraordinarily difficult. Abul Fazl tells us (Jarrett, 61) that Sher Shah and his son Salim substituted money rents for rents in kind, and he also (at p. 151) makes the startling statement that the custom of dividing the crops does not prevail in Bihar. Surely he made a mistake or the text is corrupt, for payment in kind is still, I believe, almost universal in the province. We find also among the general instructions to the collector (*'Amilguzar*) that he is to receive payment in kind or in cash, according as the cultivator may desire.

\* I do not know on what authority Mr. Sewell states (*Asiatic Quarterly Review* for 1897, p. 143) that Akbar laid down the principle that all the cultivator was to get was enough to support him till the next harvest.



It is difficult, I think, to derive much instruction from the tables of the nineteen years' rates, or to understand why Abul Fazl encumbered\* his pages with them. It is not because the ten years' settlement was founded upon them, for there are separate tables for this purpose. The nineteen years' tables are nearly useless, because, in the first place, we do not know the value of the *dam* for each year. It was not always worth one-fortieth part of a rupee. In the second place, the areas for which the rates are given were very large, and several rates must have prevailed in each of them. Perhaps this is the reason why the rates vary excessively in the same year. For instance, what use can be made of a table telling us that the price of wheat in the twenty-fourth year was, in the province of Agra, from 52 *dams* to 116—*i.e.*, the value of the produce varied from Rs. 1.4 to 2.10. So also common rice varied in the same year in the province of Allāhābād from 30 *dams* to 61. The tables for the ten years' settlement are more practical, for they give the rates for the various parts of a province in which the same *dastur* or rate prevailed. The really interesting thing in the nineteen years' tables is the list of agricultural products. Thus we see that wheat heads the list of the cold weather crops (the tables are only for some of the Upper Provinces), and sugar-cane that of the hot weather crops; that barley, rice, cotton (*pamba*), flax, pig-nut, opium, and indigo are mentioned, but that there is no reference to tobacco or maize.

We are told in the Āyeen (Jarrett, ii. 115) that in the fortieth year of the reign Akbar's dominions consisted of twelve subahs or provinces—viz., Āgra, Aḥmadābād, Ajmere, Allāhābād, Bihār, Bengal, Delhi, Kābul, Lahore, Malwā, and Multān. They were subdivided into 105 sarkars, and in these there were 2,737 towns or townships (*qasbahā*). In these provinces Aḥmadābād represented Gujrāt, Bengal included Orissa, Multān included Sindh, and Kābul in-

\* There is a more useful table in the first volume of the Āyeen (Blochmann, 62), where the prices of a great many articles of food are given.

cluded Pakli (the Hazārajāt) and Cashmere. The revenue under the ten years' settlement (here called *Jamā-i-dah sāla*) was 3 *arbs*, 62 *krors*, 97 *lakhs*, 55,046 *dams*, and 12 *lakhs* of betel-leaves (*barg-i-tambul*, i.e., *pān*). An *arb* is 100 *krors*, and a *kror* 100 *lakhs*, so that it is 10 millions, and not merely 1 million. The *dam* was reckoned as the fortieth part of a rupee, so that the revenue in rupees was 90,743,881, or at 2s. the rupee, £9,000,000. What the value of the *pān* was we are not told. The whole of it was contributed by the province of Allāhābād (Jarrett, ii. 160). It has been generally assumed that Abul Fazl is here giving the revenue of the fortieth year, but he does not say so, and his words, "when the ten years' settlement of the revenue was made," rather imply that the figures relate to the twenty-seventh year. After the division into twelve subahs had been made, three more were added—viz., Ahmadnagar, Berār, and Khāndesh or Dāndesh. Messrs. Keene and Rodgers have compared Abul Fazl's statement with Nizām-uddin's, as given at the end of his *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* (Elliot, v. 186), on the assumption that they relate to nearly the same time, Nizām-uddin's being for the thirty-ninth year of the reign and Abul Fazl's for the fortieth. But, as I have already said, it is not clear that Abul Fazl's is for the fortieth year, and at all events it is clear that the two statements are not for the same area, for Nizām-uddin gives 3,200 as the number of townships, while Abul Fazl only gives 2,737—i.e., nearly 500 less. It is also impossible that Nizām-uddin's estimate can be for the thirty-ninth year of the reign, for he died in the middle of that year. He seems to say that the estimate refers to the year 1002 A.H., but that year included part of the thirty-eighth year, and it can only be to the thirty-eighth year at latest that the estimate refers. If it does, then apparently there is a difference of eleven years between the period of Nizām-uddin's estimate and that of Abul Fazl's, the latter referring to the twenty-seventh year. Indeed, the difference is still greater, for though the ten years' settlement was

made in the beginning of the twenty-seventh year, the figures were taken from the years between the fourteenth and twenty-fifth years of the reign. It is also necessary to bear in mind that though Abul Fazl's summary statement of the revenues may refer to the twenty-seventh year, his detailed figures relate to a later period than even the fortieth year. In that year Khāndesh or Dāndesh, etc., were not conquered, and at p. 227 of Jarrett we find Abul Fazl referring to that province having been incorporated in the empire in the forty-fifth year. It seems to me that Messrs. Rodgers and Keene, and also Mr. Thomas, in striving to make Nizām-uddin and Abul Fazl agree, have forgotten the maxim of the Canonists: "Distingue tempora et conciliabis doctores."

The total revenue as stated by Nizām-uddin is 640 *krors* of *muradi tankhas*. Now, if the *muradi tanka* were the same as a *dam*, this revenue is nearly double that mentioned by Abul Fazl. If, as held by Mr. Thomas, it was equal to two *dams*, being equal to the *Sikandari tankas*, of which twenty went to the rupee, the difference between the two statements is doubled, and becomes nearly as one to four. But, as has been well observed by Sir Alexander Cunningham in his letter to Mr. Rodgers (*A. S. B. J.* for 1885, p. 58), Mr. Thomas *assumes* that the *muradi tanka*\* was the same as the *Sikandari tanka*, but gives no proof of this, nor even any argument. Mr. Thomas asks us to pay great respect to Nizām-uddin's figures, because he was a provincial administrator for many years; but before we can do so, we must know what his figures are. Even if we know this, we cannot forget that his statement is a summary one inserted at the end of his book, and that he gives no details or explanation of them. It seems questionable, then, if even we understood his figures, we should prefer them to

\* Perhaps Elliot and Thomas took no notice of the qualifying word *murādi*, because they regarded it as a mere catchword, like *ek zingjir*, elephant, *ek qalāda*, cheetah; but it would appear from the passage in Bayley's "Gujrāt" that the *murādi tanka* was a special coin.

Abul Fazl's. The real point, however, is, what is the value of the *muradi tanka*? And it is this, which is the pinch of the case, that Mr. Thomas has left in obscurity. In Forbes's Hindustani dictionary the word *muradi* is given as meaning "change, small money." From a passage in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, translated in Bayley's "*Gujrāt*," p. 246, it would appear that the *muradi tanka* had come to be current in *Gujrāt*. It says that the *Gujrāti tanka*—by which I understand the writer to mean the old *Gujrāti tanka*, current in the beginning of the sixteenth century—is worth eight *muradi tankas*, and that this same old *Gujrāti tanka* is still current in *Khāndesh* and the *Deccan*. At least, this is how I understand the passage, which I have looked up in the original, but perhaps the meaning is that it is the *muradi* which is still current in *Khāndesh* and the *Deccan*. Unfortunately, I do not know\* what was the value of the *Gujrāti tanka* referred to by the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*. The author was a *Gujrāti*, and wrote for *Gujrātis* in about the year 1611. If, as seems to be the case, he means that the *muradi tanka* was current in *Gujrāt* in his time, may it not be that it is identical with the *Gujrāti tankcha* mentioned in Bayley's "*Gujrāti*," p. 6, and described as the hundredth part of a rupee? The use of the diminutive affix *cha* (Bayley's "*Gujrāt*," p. 6) may be intended to indicate that the coin current in *Gujrāt* in 'Ali Muhammad Khan's, the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, time, was a diminutive of the old *Gujrāti tanka*. He wrote in 1161 A.H., or 1748. If this view be correct, the *Nizām-uddin's* 640 *kerors* of

\* The B. M. Catalogue of the coins of the Muh. States of India does not mention *Gujrāti tankas*. It says in Introduction, p. lix, that silver coins of *Gujrāt* are rare, and that their average weight is 112 grains. It gives none of Muzaffar II., who is the King referred to in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*. If his *tanka* weighed only 112 grains, it must have been of much less value than Sher Shah or Akbar's rupee, which weighed 175 grains, even if of equal purity. But probably the *tanka* meant was of copper, or of some base metal (billon coins). The *Sikandari tanka* of base metal weighed about 140 grains. The billon (silver and copper) coinage of the *Gujrāti Kings* seems to have been of at least two sizes, one weighing 140 or 146 grains, and the other 70.

Murādi *tankas* would come to 640,00,00,000 divided by 100—that is to Rs. 640,000,000, or, at the exchange of 2s. for the rupee, £6,400,000. This is about one-third less than Abul Fazl's estimate of £9,000,000, and if the latter relates to the twenty-seventh year, the result is, I admit, a most improbable one. It is, indeed, impossible that the revenues can have fallen off by one-third in the interval between the twenty-seventh and the thirty-eighth years. Sir Alexander Cunningham's suggestion (*A. S. B. J.* for 1885, p. 58) that *muradi tankas* are the common *dams* of Akbar (worth forty to the rupee) is more plausible, but unfortunately there is no evidence for this. If *muradi tankas* were the same thing as *dams*, one would have expected a practised accountant like Nizām-uddin to use the official term. Mr. Keene's suggestion (*A. S. B. J.* for 1881, p. 101) that the *muradi tanka* stands for the sixty-fourth part of a rupee is more likely, as it seems to be supported by local usage. Mr. Keene tells us that the word *tanka* is in dictionaries and in native usage the equivalent of two *paisah*. As *muradi* is defined in Forbes as meaning small money, it may be that the addition of it to the word *tanka* meant half a *tanka*, or one *paisah*. I am informed by my friend Mr. Irvine that Murādi *tanka* was forty years ago a current phrase up about Delhi for the *dhabā*, or lump of copper, used as a *paisah*, and which was also called Mansūrī *paisah*, and still more commonly Gorakhpur *paisah*. Gorakhpur *paisah* are referred to in the Regulations, and were not long ago abolished by the Government. If Nizām-uddin's Murādi *tankah* were sixty-four\* to the rupee, his figures give

\* The author of the *Hadiqat-ul-aqālim*, or *Garden of Climes*, says (Lucknow ed., p. 663) that he saw at Allāhābād the accounts, drawn up in Akbar's time, of the cost of building the fort of Allāhābād, and that it was stated in them that the rupee was worth fifty-two *kacha khām* copper *tangas*. Perhaps these were murādi *tangas*. If so, Nizām-uddin's figures would yield about £12,000,000. At p. 20 of the "Revenue Resources," Thomas quotes in a note a passage from the *Dastur-ul-'Amal* to the effect that the *ana* is worth twenty (*bist*) *dāms*. May the *bist* not be a mistake for *hashi*, eight? The two words are often confounded in manuscripts.

Should *murādi tankah* turn out to mean double pice—i.e., half *anas*—

a total of £10,000,000, which would be a reasonable increase on Abul Fazl's 9 millions for eleven years previous. As pointed out by Mr. Keene, *paisah* was an old name for the *dam* (Blochmann, 31). Mr. Thomas makes the *muradi tanka* to be double *dams*, and so he raises Nizām-uddin's estimate to the incredible figure of £32,000,000. But, as we have seen, he offers no evidence for this view. He gave none in his "Chronicles," and in his later work, "The Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire," he gives us nothing more. All he says is, "There can be very little contest about the value of Nizām-uddin's prices, designated as *Tankah Muradi*. They were, in effect, the old Sikandari *tankah* of twenty to the silver *tankah*." But if they were so, why did Nizām-uddin call them by another name? Mr. Thomas argues that Nizām-uddin's six odd *arbs* do not differ very much from the five and nearly three-quarter *arbs* of Abul Fazl's detailed estimate, and on this account he would, in the first place, in defiance of all the manuscripts, alter the *sih* or three of the Ayeen into *shash* or six, and, in the second place, in defiance of Abul Fazl's statement, make out the *dams* of his detailed estimates to be Sikandari *tankas*, that is, double *dams*.\* But he forgets that it is unnecessary to alter Abul Fazl's figure *sih*, as the statement in which it occurs refers to the settlement of the twenty-seventh year; and he also forgets that though Nizām-uddin's figures do not much exceed Abul Fazl's detailed figures, yet the difference is aggravated by its being in the wrong direction. Nizām-uddin's figures are for the thirty-eighth year at the latest, and cannot include Khāndesh and

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Nizām-uddin's total would be 640,000,000 divided by 32—i.e., £20,000,000. This is a not impossible total, especially as Nizām-uddin may have included taxes on manufactures, etc., along with the land revenue. At all events, this sum is an improvement on Mr. Thomas's £32,000,000.

\* It appears from Mr. Thomas's monograph, p. 20, that he has abandoned the view contended for in the "Chronicles" that the *dāms* of the Ayeen are double *dāms*. But this abandonment leaves us without any explanation of why the later and detailed estimates of Abul Fazl are less than half of Nizām-uddin's, if, as Mr. Thomas supposes, the *murādi tankas* were twenty to the rupee.

Birār, for they were not then conquered, whereas Abul Fazl's do include Khandesh, or Dāndesh and Birār, and are for the forty-fourth year, or even later. Abul Fazl's figures, therefore, should be larger and not less than Nizam-uddin's. In my opinion it is useless to discuss Nizam-uddin's figures until we have more certain information as to what he meant by the term *muradi*. Even if it should be proved that he meant thereby Sikandari *tankas*, I think it would be unsafe to prefer his summary statement to the detailed estimate of Abul Fazl, supported, as the latter is, by the statement of 'Abdul Hāmid that the revenue at Jahāngir's accession was 700 million *dams*. As, however, my only wish is to get at the truth, I am bound to admit that some countenance to the view that *muradi tankahs* means double *dams* is afforded by a statement in the Ayeen about the revenues of Birar. We have seen that the Mirāt-i-Sikandari states that the Gujrāti *tanka* was worth eight *muradi tankas*, and that the former was still current in Khāndesh and the Deccan. We may therefore regard it as probable that the Berāri *tanka* of Jarrett (ii. 231), was the Gujrāti *tanka* of the Mirāt-i-Sikandari. Now, Abul Fazl says that the Berāri *tanka* was equal to eight Delhi *tankas*—i.e., I presume Sikandari *tankahs*—and if so, on the principle that things equal to the same thing are equal to one another, we may hold that Birāri—i.e., old Gujrāti *tankas*—were equal to eight *muradis*. It also appears from Abul Fazl's figures that the Birāri *tanka* was worth sixteen *dams*,\* and consequently the *muradi*, or one-eighth, would be worth two *dams*, which is what Mr. Thomas contends for. The point, however, is doubtful, for at p. 225 of Jarrett Abul Fazl speaks of the Berāri *tanka* as being worth twenty-four *dams*. It has occurred to me as possible that the word "murādi"

\* It is also worthy of notice that at the end of the paragraph (Jarrett, ii. 231) Abul Fazl uses the expression "Delhi *dāms*." One would hardly expect him to use this expression if he was referring to Akbar's *dāms*, for Agra was his capital, and if he had used any adjective in speaking of them, it would probably have been Shāhinshāh. Probably, then, he means either the *dāms* of Sher Shah—i.e., *paisah*—or the *dāms* of Sikandar.

may refer to Sultan Murād,\* Akbar's second son,† who was Viceroy of Gujrāti. Nizam-uddin was long connected with that province as *bakhshi*, or paymaster, and so may have come to use the term. It is also possible that the Murādī *tanka* may mean the debased currency of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, referred to by Mr. Thomas (p. 229, note 3, of his "Chronicle"). Observe the use of the word *murad* in the passage of Nizam-uddin, and observe also that Firishta, as I understand him, makes Muhammad bin Tughlaq's *tanka*‡ equal to sixteen *pūls* (copper pice?). Perhaps these *pūls* are the *paulah* or quarter *dam* of the Ayeen (Blochmann, 31). Hence we may notice that Mr. Grant, in his "Political Survey of the Northern Circars," fifth report, p. 640, says that before Todar Mal's period the only coin in common use in Hindustan was in copper, and that sixteen of them were reckoned equal to a *tanka* of base silver.

Leaving, however, Nizam-uddin's summary statement out of consideration, on the ground that we do not know what was the value of the *muradī tanka*, we have two authoritative statements by Abul Fazl of Akbar's revenues. One refers to the ten years' settlement made in the twenty-seventh year, and which was based on estimates and realizations from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth years. This gives a total of about 9 millions of pounds. The second is a detailed estimate extending down to the forty-fifth year, and

\* Another explanation of *murādī* is that originally it meant a small coin offered at a shrine in order to obtain a wish (*murād*). Afterwards it came to be a catchword prefixed to *anas* and *pice*; thus we have the expression *murādī panj ana*, meaning merely five *anas*. "If anything is certain," says Mr. Keene, "it is that the use of the word *murādī* in accounts means that a sum is being expressed in copper." This seems to differentiate *tanka murādī* from Sikandar *tanka*, which were of base metal—a mixture of silver and copper. See analyses in Thomas's "Chronicles," 368.

† Mr. Wright says in *A. S. B. J.* for 1904, p. 73, that Murād Bakhsh, the son of Shāh Jehān, issued copper *dāms* in his own name. As the coins seem to have no year on them, may they not be coins of Sultan Murād, the son of Akbar, Sultan Murād Bakhsh, at p. 69 of the Numismatic Supplement, is clearly a mistake of Dr. Taylor for Sultan Murād.

‡ See account of this coinage in B. M. Cat. of Coins of Delhi Sultans. Introduction, p. xxi *et seq.*



gives a total of over 14 millions (Thomas, "Revenues," 13). This is not an improbable increase on the estimate for the twelve provinces in the twenty-seventh year, seeing that two if not three more provinces are included in it. It also agrees fairly well with De Laet's statement that at Jahāngir's accession the revenue was 6 *arbs* 98 *krors* of *dams*, or 3 *arbs* 49 *krors* of *tangas*, and with 'Abdul Hāmid's statement that at the death of Jahāngir (who did not add to Akbar's territories) the revenue was 700,000,000 *dams*. De Laet's statement practically agrees with 'Abdul Hāmid's, and gives a revenue of 17½ millions of pounds. I submit, therefore, that the proper conclusion to come to is that Akbar's nominal revenue never exceeded 17½ millions sterling, and was during most of his reign much less.

It should also be remembered, in comparing Akbar's revenue with that of British India, that his realm included Afghanistan, Cashmere, and the Native States of Rajputana. It must be said, too, that his details of the revenue are in many instances exceedingly doubtful, and that they probably include many unrealizable items. For instance, he gives a large revenue for the Sarkār of Monghyr, though it had not been measured; and he states a revenue from Chittagong, though it had not been conquered. Under the head of the Subah of Ajmere, he gives revenue from Jodhpur, Amher, and Bikanir, though these were in the hands of Rajput Princes, some of them connected with Akbar by marriage, who were very unlikely to pay tribute.

Besides the land revenue there were taxes on manufactures, but we have no means of ascertaining what these amounted to. As usual, Abul Fazl gives forth an uncertain sound about Akbar's proceedings in regard to taxes. At p. 58 of Jarrett he seems to say that Akbar abolished them entirely, while at p. 66 he says that Akbar diminished the taxes on manufactures from 10 to 5 per cent. In the instructions to the kotwāl he is directed not to demand any tax or cess save on arms, elephants, horses, cattle, camels, sheep, goats, or merchandise (*qumash*, perhaps silk).

Though Akbar did abolish many cesses, especially the *jiziya*, or capitation tax on Hindus, he also occasionally imposed new ones. For instance, he, in 972 or 1565, imposed a tax of 3 *sirs* of corn on every *bigha* in the province (*walayat*), to defray the cost of building the fort of Agra. Apparently this cess extended over four or five years, and produced 3 *kror* of *tankas*, or about £150,000 (see Badayūni, Lowe, 75, and Elliot, v. 295). Akbar's grandfather, Bābar, in 1528 arbitrarily increased the taxes by 30 per cent. At p. 66 of Jarrett we have a long list of the taxes abolished by Akbar. But the Fifth Report shows that human nature was too strong even for despotic reformers, and that *abwabs*—i.e., cesses—increased and multiplied.

The basis of Akbar's settlement was a measurement of the land, and we find many instructions on this subject in the Ayeen. Unfortunately, perhaps, Akbar thought it necessary to introduce a new standard of measurement—namely, the *ilahi* or divine *gaz* (yard). As this was not done till the thirty-first year, the first ten years' settlement must have undergone subsequent modifications. The continual additions to the Imperial domains must also have made fresh measurements necessary.

Elphinstone has given in his history of India a good and careful abstract of Akbar's settlement regulations, as shown in Gladwin's translation of the Ayeen; but it appears to me that he has overestimated the extent and value of Akbar's innovations. He says: "All these settlements were at first made annually, but their continual recurrence being found to be vexatious, the settlement was afterwards made for ten years, on an average of the preceding ten." He adds: "The prolongation of the term mitigated another evil inherent in the system; for as the assessment varied with the sort of cultivation, it had all the effect of a tithe in indisposing the husbandmen to cultivate a richer description of produce, which, though it might yield a greater profit, would have a higher tax to pay at the next

settlement." But as the foundation of the assessment was the nature of the crop cultivated, it is difficult to understand how an annual examination and alteration of assessment could be avoided. A great deal must have depended on the character and honesty of the collector and his subordinates. The instructions to the collector leave him a good deal of independence. For instance, he is told that he should stimulate the increase of valuable produce, and remit somewhat of the assessment with a view to its augmentation.

Each subah or province was under the charge of an officer, whom Akbar called sipahsālār—"commander of the forces," but who was afterwards known as subahdār. The regulations for his conduct are given in the Ayeen, and contain some quaint provisions. Under him was the faujdār, who is described as having several *parganas* assigned to him. He was the sipahsālār's military assistant, and his special duty seems to have been to preserve order and to put down sedition and rebellion. He kept the roll of the troops, and looked after the branding of horses, etc. Apparently the faujdār's services were especially required in frontier and outlying districts, where wild tribes had to be controlled, etc. Accordingly we find such districts as Sylhet, Purneeah, and Rajmahal called faujdāris in the Fifth Report. After the faujdārs came the law officers, the Mīr-i-'Adl and the Qāzī (Cadi). These two offices were often held by one person. The police officer in charge of a town was called the kotwāl. The instructions to him are the most singular in the code, and, as Elphinstone remarks, "keep up the prying and meddling character of the police under a despotism." But, as he also justly remarks, "the tone of instructions to all the functionaries is just and benevolent, though by no means exempt from the vagueness and puerility that is natural to Asiatic writings of this sort." The collector ('Amilguzār) was an important officer, and his duties are stated in great detail. The first injunction is that he should be the friend

of the agriculturist. When there was no kotwāl he was to act as such. His assistant, the *bitikchi*, was probably of still more importance to the ryot, for he was to ascertain from the *qanungu* the average demand state of the village revenues in money and kind.

It is unfortunate that we have so few details about Todar Mal and his reforms. The Ayeen-i-Akbari seems at first sight to be very full, but when examined the statements are found to be vague and obscure. Badayūni is valuable as giving the other side of the shield. But he was much more interested in religious questions and in Akbar's treatment of rent-free tenures and of learned men than in the condition of the peasantry. He is pathetic about the sufferings of the *aimahdars*, or rent-free holders, who were deprived of their lands by the *kroris*, but he has little to say about the ordinary husbandman. No doubt it was the resumption of grants that caused the greatest outcry against Akbar's financiers, and even led to the summary hanging of one of the ablest of them—Shāh Mansūr. The great officers were not ashamed to conspire against him, and to forge a letter, upon the strength of which Akbar had him executed. It was also this resumption of grants which led to the Bengal rebellion. There can be no doubt that Todar Mal was a most able administrator, and Akbar deserves all credit for having employed him, and for having supported him against his Muhammadan officers. Badayūni tells us that when the Amirs complained of the Rajah to Akbar and requested his dismissal, he replied: "Every one of you has a Hindu to manage his private affairs. Suppose we, too, should have a Hindu: why should harm come of it?" Apparently, as was also the case with 'Itimād, the eunuch, and other of Akbar's officers, Todar Mal's merits were first discovered by Sher Shāh, for we find in Elliot, v. 114, that Todar Mal was employed to build Sher Shāh's new fort of Rohtas in the Panjāb. There is an interesting account of Todar Mal and his settlement, though not free from errors, in

Mr. James Grant's "Political Survey of the Northern Circars," Fifth Report, p. 637.

The great merit of Akbar in regard to revenue settlements was that he paid attention to the subject, and had the insight to select a capable man to superintend the arrangements. The great merit of Todar Mal probably consisted in his unwearied application to business and in his honesty. Abul Fazl describes him as void of avarice. The wise words of Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, on the subject of administration under the Mughals may fitly close this paper :

"The Mogul dominion, in the best times and under the wisest Princes, was a government of discretion. The safety of the people, the security of their property, and the prosperity of the country, depended upon the personal character of the monarch. By this standard his delegates regulated their own demeanour ; in proportion as he was wise, just, vigilant, and humane, the provincial Viceroys discharged their respective *gists* with zeal and fidelity ; and as they possessed or wanted the recited qualifications, the inferior agents conducted themselves with more or less diligence and honesty. A weak monarch and corrupt minister encouraged and produced every species of disorder, for there was no law paramount to the Sovereign's will. Few of the officers of government were liberally paid, and property was left to accumulate from breach of trust, abused patronage, perverted justice, or unrestrained oppression. This description I conceive to be applicable to all Muhamadan governments, where practice is for ever in opposition to the theory of morals ; and a few remarkable instances of distinguished virtue or forbearance are exceptions which deduct little from the universality of the remark."

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NOTE.

1. Though in the Ayeen Abul Fazl has assigned the glory of the ten years' settlement to Todar Mal and

Muzaffar Khān, and popular report has always given the credit of it to Todar Mal, yet in the Akbarnāma (Bib. Ind., ed., pp. 282, 283) it is distinctly stated that it was Khwājah Shāh Mansūr who made the arrangements. Todar Mal had been associated with him, but was obliged to go on military duty to Bengal, and Khwājah Mansūr carried out the idea of the settlement, which, of course, Abul Fazl attributes to Akbar. Khwājah Mansūr was the unfortunate man whom Akbar afterwards hastily caused to be hanged on a tree on the faith of a letter which had been forged by Shahbāz Khān's brother and other jealous and discontented officers. Akbar was very sorry afterwards, but we do not find that he punished the forgers. At the same place in the Akbarnāma it is stated that the division of the Imperial territory into twelve provinces and the ten years' settlement took place in the twenty-fourth year of the reign, so apparently Abul Fazl's statement at p. 115 of Jarrett about the amount of the revenues cannot be based on a later estimate than that of the twenty-third year.

2. Whatever doubts there may be about the exact value of the *tanka muradi* of Nizām-uddin's estimate, I think there can be no question about their being much less in value than Sikandari *tanka*—that is, half-rupees. The phrase is used at least twice by Nizām-uddin's contemporary and copyist, Badayūni, who says at p. 416 of Lowe's translation (where the word *muradi* is translated "in small change") that Akbar gave him a horse and 10,000 *tankah muradi* for translating a book, and at p. 402 that Akbar gave a Qandahar princeling and fugitive named Mīrzā Rustam a *kror*—that is, 10 millions—of *tankah muradi*. However liberal Akbar might be, he would hardly give £500 and more to Badayūni, or half a million of rupees to a young man who was not related to him, and had no claim upon him. Mr. Thomas's idea, then, that Nizām-uddin's estimate means that Akbar had a revenue of £32,000,000 seems to fall to the ground. A reference to Mr. C. J. Rodgers' paper on the copper coins of Akbar

(*A. S. B. J.* for 1880, p. 213) shows that Akbar coined a *tanka* only 52 grains in weight, and a double one weighing 109 grains. Either of these was smaller than a *dam*, of which forty went to the rupee. It must be admitted, however, that the word on Mr. Rodgers' plate is *tankī* and not *tankah*, and also note must be taken of Mr. S. Lane Poole's remark: "The *tankī* is quite distinct from the *tankah*." He also observes, "The term *tankah* appears to be used as vaguely as *fulus*, both for *dam*s and double *dam*s."

3. The derivation of *muradī* from an offering at a shrine is given in Crooke's "Agricultural Glossary," Calcutta, 1892. I have examined the MSS. of Nizām-uddin's work, the *Tabaqāt Akbari*. Most of them have not the passage about the revenues, and it also does not occur in the Lucknow lithograph. One B.M. MS., Add. 26,209, has the passage, but it has *shash sad hazar u chahal* of *kror*. One I.O. MS., No. 3,320 on 229 has the passage, but the *shash* (six) is not quite clear. Another, No. 998, has distinctly *sihsad u chahal*, 340 *krors*.

## HYDROPHOBIA IN THE EAST.

BY F. H. SKRINE, ESQ., I.C.S. (RETIRED).

THE dog holds a unique position in the scheme which was once styled the "Brute Creation." He is emphatically our friend and companion, and for many of us a dogless world would be quite intolerable. A French cynic has said: "The more one sees of men and women, the fonder one grows of dogs." Naturalists ascribe this marvellous sympathy to the wild dog's habit of hunting in packs under the guidance of a recognised leader. By a curious survival the domestic animal has transferred to his human master all the obedience and devotion which his remote ancestors displayed towards their captains in the chase. It is one of Nature's darkest mysteries that a creature which possesses a conscience, is capable of reason, and has assimilated not a little of our civilization, should be transformed by disease into an engine of destruction tenfold more dreadful than the hooded cobra.

As is the case with all infectious maladies, the spread of hydrophobia is largely a matter of geography. In the United Kingdom it has been stamped out by the wise and courageous measures adopted by the present Government ten years ago, in the teeth of a selfish agitation set on foot by certain dog-owners. Thanks to the quarantine imposed by a long sea-voyage, it is unknown in Australia and New Zealand. But an insular position affords the only safeguard against canine rabies. It is endemic in Southern Russia, owing to the abundance of wolves, which are very subject to this pest. In India, too, hydrophobia rages amongst the jackals and the hordes of masterless dogs which haunt every town and village. Few indeed are Anglo-Indians in the interior who have never heard the blood-curdling cry, "Pagal Kutta!" It was raised, many years ago, in the veranda of a Bengal bungalow, whereat I was one of a



merry Christmas party. In a twinkling every guest leaped upon the table, working havoc among their hostess's glass and dessert-dishes. Hardly had we gained this coign of vantage ere a large black dog staggered into the room, with hair erect and ropes of bloody saliva hanging from his jaws. He was evidently in the last stage of the disease, for he seized a chair and worried it with raucous growls. At length one of the group which clung together on the table slew the intruder with a well-aimed decanter.

A few weeks later I was "eating the air" with a friend on the station race-course, when our discussion was interrupted by a pariah which brushed between us, nearly capsizing both. "Hulloa!" I remarked, "what an impudent dog!" Our amazement became terror when the animal turned abruptly to the right and killed one of our judge's turkey-cocks which was strutting on the green; then he sped onwards into the neighbouring town, attacking every living thing he met. In this case there were thirteen human victims, of whom three afterwards succumbed to hydrophobia.

The mystery which, until lately, attended this awful disease has given birth to a host of quack remedies. A family in the North of England lived comfortably for years on the produce of a secret recipe, which turned out to be nothing more than an infusion of box-leaves. The Indian's untutored mind believes that a strip of red cloth tied round the bitten limb, with appropriate incantations, will guarantee the sufferer from infection. Others pin their faith on a porous stone applied to the wound, which is supposed to imbibe the venom, and fall off when replete with it. Champions of these ridiculous nostrums point with pride to many apparent cures. But hydrophobia is invested with a degree of terror which is out of all proportion to its ravages. It is a very rare disease. The virus is often absorbed by the victim's clothing, and statistics prove that it operates in only 10 per cent. of the cases in which the dog was really rabid. Certain canine diseases, notably

distemper, have characteristics which may easily be mistaken for rabies, and a spurious hydrophobia is often excited in the human subject by sheer nervous terror following dog-bite.\* It is certain that the vaunted cures belong to one or the other of these categories. An absurd notion prevails that an injured person will contract hydrophobia if the animal which attacked him goes mad subsequently; hence it is a common practice to destroy dogs which have administered a bite, thus insuring months of agonizing suspense for the sufferer. If a dog suddenly changes his whole nature; if he refuses food, hides in corners, drops his tail; if his eyes become set and staring, his barking hoarse; if he snaps at children and others with whom he was on the best of terms, he should be tied up and kept under observation. Should hydrophobia develop itself, the dog's throat will become inflamed, there will be a copious discharge of saliva, and he will be unable to swallow water, though he eagerly laps it. All doubt will now vanish, and the poor creature's torments should be cut short by a charge of No. 6 shot.

About thirty years ago a much-respected Eurasian official of the old school, who had risen to the rank of Small Cause Court Judge, went on circuit as usual, accompanied by his wife. At one of his halting-places he was returning from court to the dak bungalow, when a mad dog issued from the jungle and fastened on his arm. A plucky peon who followed his Honour came to the rescue, and was severely mauled. The judge did all that science suggested. His devoted spouse sucked the wound; it was cauterized with a red-hot skewer, and the bitten portions were afterwards excised *secundum artem* by the local assistant surgeon. After a few weeks only a scar remained to remind him of the catastrophe; but when the brave peon succumbed to hydrophobia, his master's nerves gave way. He procured all the medical works in Messrs. Thacker and Spink's

\* A clever assistant surgeon once recorded deaths from hydrophobia in his district as due to "dogbitis."

famed repository that treated of the dreaded disease, and gave his leisure to studying them diligently. Thus he learned that the first symptoms which might be expected at the end of the incubatory period were irritation, with slight redness, at the seat of the wound. But months passed by without their occurrence, and the judge's fears began to evaporate. One night, however, while again on circuit, he was roused from uneasy slumber at the same dak bungalow by a terrible itching in the injured arm. He sprang out of bed, lit a candle with trembling fingers, and examined his limb. Yes! the old scar *was* red and inflamed. His hour had come! Should he waken his sleeping wife? No, poor thing! she would learn the truth only too soon. So the unhappy man spent hours in pacing the veranda, and jotting down his testamentary dispositions in pencil. At length, as day broke, he again sought his couch, and utter exhaustion produced sleep. His first waking thoughts flew to the doom which awaited him; but, lo! the only trace of inflammation was a series of bumps on the arm, which told a tale not unfamiliar to occupants of over-peopled dak bungalow beds.

Some clerks of my office in a Northern Bengal district were returning at dawn from a wedding-party at the house of a colleague, when a jackal emerged from some jungle near the distillery, and attacked the draggle-tailed cortège with fury. They fled in all directions, not before a round dozen had been severely bitten. The first news I had of the disaster was a sheaf of petitions for their vacant posts, for all R—— had made up its mind that the injured *Keranis'* days were numbered. I spent the morning in visiting the patients at their homes. All were in a state of abject collapse, and my words of comfort were unheeded. Then I bethought me of a native prophylactic, consisting of a weed, styled in Bengali *dhankoni*, which thrives in the purlieus of ruined buildings. A store of this herb was quickly collected, and each of the sufferers was obliged to take a copious dose of the infusion, while the spent leaves

were employed as poultices. After several months had passed without claiming a victim, I communicated the facts to the *Calcutta Englishman*, and my story provoked an animated correspondence. Alas for my optimism! Subsequent occurrences proved that local *feræ naturæ* were wont to devour the grains or spent wash ejected from the distillery. This particular jackal had assailed my clerks in the sheer lightness of heart provoked by intoxication!

I have alluded to a few of the quack remedies for hydrophobia; some words now on those suggested by science and common-sense. Unlike the poison of snake-bite, that which is communicated by the saliva of a rabid animal lies dormant near the wound for several weeks. Forty days is, I believe, the average incubatory period; but it is extended in special cases to months, and even years. The first step, therefore, should be to improvise a tourniquet, with a piece of string or a handkerchief bound tightly round the injured part above the seat of the wound. The latter should then be vigorously sucked by the patient, or, if he cannot reach it, some friend may perform the kind office. There is no danger of infection if the mouth be in a normal state. Excision of the flesh and tissues round the bite is the next step, or, if the sufferer will not submit to the knife, the wound must be cauterized with nitric or sulphuric acid, with caustic potash, or a red-hot iron wire. If these simple remedies be applied at once, the danger of infection is almost infinitesimal. M. Buisson's hot vapour bath, repeated on seven consecutive days, has had many advocates, who believe that the poison is carried off by the profuse perspiration resulting from the application of steam at a relatively high temperature. This system, however, tends to lower the patient's strength, which should be maintained by a light but nourishing diet, and it has been discredited by many failures. A larger measure of success has attended copious bleeding from the arm. There are authentic cures on record following this system, even after hydrophobia had set in. One was related in the Madras

newspapers of 1812, in which the agents employed were extensive blood-letting, mercury, and opium. This success prompted the authorities of the Native Hospital at Calcutta to try what bleeding alone could accomplish. In May of that year Amir Bhisti, employed as water-carrier by a European family of Chauringhi, was admitted suffering from all the characteristics of hydrophobia in its most aggravated form. Two pints of blood—another account specifies 40 ounces—were straightway taken from his arm. The tremendous spasms ceased, and before the vein was closed Amir stretched out his hand for a cup of water, though a few minutes earlier the mere approach of liquid had thrown him into stronger convulsions. He regained his senses, and was able to explain that, seventeen days previously, he had been bitten by a mad dog at Russa Pugla. He then fell into a deep sleep, which lasted for two hours. On awakening he exhibited the unmistakable symptoms in a milder form, whereon he was again bled till he fainted away. On recovering consciousness he was practically free from the disease, and ultimately regained perfect health.

Less fortunate was Sergeant Clarke, in garrison at Trichinopoly. In the spring of 1813 he, too, was admitted to hospital in the throes of hydrophobia. After a severe bleeding from the arm he became quite calm, and was able to enjoy a draught of water; but the symptoms afterwards returned with violence, and he succumbed. The failure in this case must be ascribed rather to the patient's idiosyncrasies than to the heroic remedy. Sergeant Clarke's constitution had suffered much from the Indian climate, and more from his intemperance. Before admission to hospital, he had absorbed the morning dram of ardent spirits, which was *de rigueur* in those bad old days.

There remains the well-known preventive treatment by inoculation, championed by the illustrious Pasteur. A storm of controversy still rages round this discovery, and it was provoked by the amazing faddists, whose misplaced

energy is a sore stumbling-block in the path of English students. This question lies in the proverbial nutshell. Vivisection for the mere purpose of demonstrating established facts is, I think, unjustifiable; for all God's creatures have claims to our respect and pity, and such practices undoubtedly tend to harden the hearts of those who indulge in them. Moreover, the dog has won a unique position in the sentient world, and one's conscience revolts at the thought that his living organism should become a *corpus vile*, to be prodded and hacked by the dissector's knife. But if we may lawfully slay animals for food, we may surely experiment on their bodies, the nervous system having been deadened by anæsthetics, in order to trace the origin of diseases in the human subject. It is impossible to ignore the fact that vivisection was the basis of Pasteur's discoveries, and of many others which have revolutionized surgical treatment, and have incalculably lessened the volume of human suffering. It is high time that a little common-sense were brought to bear on this question, for English research is heavily handicapped by the clap-trap indulged in by extreme anti-vivisectionists. All who are qualified by training and an open mind to pronounce on Pasteurism agree that it is based on scientific principles, and that, if given fair play, it affords practical immunity from hydrophobia. Colonel C. P. Lukis, I.M.D., who is now officiating as Principal of the Calcutta Medical College, has favoured me with the following notes, which summarize the latest conclusions of experts in bacteriology:—

“Diseases due to the action of micro-organisms are of two kinds: (a) Those in which only the toxin or poisonous matter produced by the micro-organisms is introduced into the body of the subject; and (b) those in which both toxin and living micro-organisms are introduced. Ptomaine poisoning, which is caused by the toxins of various putrefactive bacteria, is an excellent example of the first class, while all infective diseases are instances of the second. The main point of difference between the two is that in the

one case there is no evidence of *increase* of poison; whereas in the other it is manufactured by the living micro-organism in such large quantities that, after the death of an animal which has received a minimum lethal dose of toxin *plus* its causative organism, the tissues of the animal will be capable of producing the disease in a large number of other animals. Thus the production of the disease can be carried on through an infinite series.

“Artificial immunity may be produced by repeated—

- (1) Injections of attenuated organisms;
- (2) Sublethal doses of virulent organisms;
- (3) Sublethal doses of toxin free from organisms.

“As the result of this series of injections, there are produced in the blood of the animal experimented on certain substances called ‘antitoxin,’ which have the power of protecting the economy from subsequent lethal doses of virulent micro-organisms. It is obvious that such immunity can only be slowly produced, and that therefore it can only be used for protective, and not for curative, purposes. When produced, it is, however, practically permanent, and is therefore called ‘active immunity.’ Moreover, it has been discovered that the blood of animals that have attained to active immunity can confer temporary protection upon non-immune animals if it be injected into them subcutaneously. Such immunity is spoken of as ‘passive,’ because there is no active formation of antitoxin. As its effects can be produced without delay, it is largely used for curative purposes—*e.g.*, the diphtheria antitoxin.

“The best-known protective inoculations, all of which aim at the production of active immunity, are :

1. Vaccination.
2. Pasteur’s treatment for hydrophobia.
3. Pasteur’s vaccination against anthrax.
4. Wright and Temple’s anti-typhoid inoculation.
5. Haffkine’s anti-cholera inoculation.
6. Haffkine’s anti-plague inoculation.

"Inasmuch as the principle of all these treatments is identical, they are technically termed 'vaccines' to distinguish them from the antitoxin and antibactericidal sera employed for *curative* purposes.

"HYDROPHOBIA.—Although up to the present no micro-organism has been detected as the causative agent of this disease, there are at every point striking analogies between it and the bacterial maladies, the most striking being the protective inoculation methods which constitute the great work of Pasteur. Everything, in fact, points to a micro-organism being the causative agency. This may be so minute as to evade observation with the aid of microscopes at their present strength, as is the case with the bacteria of scarlet fever, measles, and small-pox. That organisms may be extremely minute is proved by the recent work of the United States Commission, which has shown that the germs of yellow fever can pass through the pores of the Berckfeldt filter, which are sufficiently fine to render any infective fluids completely bacteria-free. Judging from our knowledge of similar diseases, we would strongly suspect that the germ of rabies is actually present in a living condition, chiefly in the saliva and central nervous system; for by no mere toxin could the disease be transmitted through a series of animals, as we shall presently see can be done. Moreover, the poison of rabies does not exist in the blood, as would certainly be the case if it were merely a circulating toxin.

"*The Prophylactic Treatment of Hydrophobia.*—Until the publication of Pasteur's researches in 1885, the only means adopted to prevent the development of hydrophobia in a person bitten by a rabid dog consisted in the cauterization of the wound. The whole treatment was revolutionized by Pasteur's discoveries. He started with the idea that, since the period of incubation in the case of animals infected by intracerebral inoculation from the nervous system of mad dogs is constant in the dog, the virus has been, from time immemorial, of constant strength; and this virus of natural



intensity is called by him the *virus de la rage des vus*. He found that by passing this virus through a number of monkeys in succession, it gradually lost its virulence, as evidenced by the lengthened periods of incubation, until it finally lost the power of reproducing rabies in dogs.

"On the other hand, he found that, by a similar method of *passage* through a series of rabbits or guinea-pigs, its virulence increased until a constant strength was attained (which would kill a rabbit with paralytic rabies in ten days). Beyond this point no further increase in strength could be attained; he therefore called this product the *virus fixe*.

"Thus he had at his command three distinct strengths of virus—namely, that of natural strength, that which had been attenuated, and that which had been exalted.

"He further found that by commencing with injections of the attenuated virus, and gradually increasing the strength, he could immunize dogs and other animals against lethal doses of virus at its natural strength, which would, prior to their immunization, have certainly produced fatal results.

"Pasteur's next discovery was that the exalted virus of the rabbit could be attenuated to such an extent as no longer to produce rabies in dogs when subcutaneously injected. This was done by drying the spinal cords of rabbits in air over caustic potash, the diminution of virulence being proportionate to the length of time during which the cords had been exposed, until those which had been thus treated for fourteen days were found to have no toxic properties whatever.

"Accordingly, by taking a series of these spinal cords, kept for various periods of time, he was supplied with as many vaccines of different strengths, and he argued that, as there is in man a comparatively long period of incubation between the bite and the appearance of hydrophobia, this might be taken advantage of to vaccinate the patient with gradually increasing strengths of virus, thus producing in time active immunity before the gravest manifestations of the disease took place.

"This chain of reasoning has been proved to be correct ; and Pasteur's prophylactic treatment of hydrophobia speedily gained the confidence of the scientific world. It is, however, essential that the immunization should be complete before the manifestation of symptoms, as the treatment is in no way curative, and it is useless to attempt it when hydrophobia has been established in a patient. The incubation period in man averages forty days, so that in most cases there is ample time to secure active immunity by means of the *virus fixe* before the well-known symptoms of hydrophobia make their appearance."

Until very recent years residents in India, who had the misfortune to be bitten by a rabid animal, were compelled to undertake a journey to Paris in order to undergo preventive inoculation. One dark night in the spring of 1890 a Captain in a Bengal cavalry regiment was hurrying to mess with the doctor. They were late, and took a short-cut across an intervening field. In negotiating the ditch, this young officer's leap landed him in the very jaws of a huge black pariah dog lurking in the excavation. It sprang at him, inflicting fearful wounds on his thigh. Then the animal ran amok, biting many troopers and their steeds, amongst the latter being the charger of the first victim. After undergoing primary treatment he was sent to Paris, without a day's delay, by a medical board specially convoked. On the P. and O. steamer, which he just managed to catch, he encountered an attentive and skilful medical officer, who, on probing the deepest wound, extracted a large piece of cloth buried in the patient's flesh by the bite. Pasteur's famous laboratory was reached in twenty-one days, and its illustrious chief, who was still amongst us, took the sufferer under his immediate charge. His interest was excited by the fact that this was the first case from India, and by its very unfavourable adjuncts. An intensive treatment of great severity was adopted, and after undergoing many subcutaneous injections applied at the waist, the patient was at length discharged as immune. On

returning to London, he was brought to death's door by blood-poisoning, but no symptoms of hydrophobia have since made their appearance.

By way of contrast, I may mention the recent instance of a young engineer officer engaged in constructing a bridge on the Murshidabad-Ranaghat Railway. He, too, was bitten by a rabid dog; but as his work was at a critical stage, he refused to leave it for recourse to the Pasteur Laboratory at Kasauli. Excessive devotion to duty was attended by fatal results for the sufferer.

When hydrophobia has once manifested itself there is little hope of recovery. I will not harrow your feelings by recounting the various stages of this awful malady. On two occasions I have watched its progress, powerless to cure or even to alleviate, and those death-bed scenes have burnt themselves deeply into my memory.

Upwards of thirty years ago a young Calcutta barrister, named M——, went to Barrackpur to spend a week-end with Colonel T——, commanding that pleasant little station. He kept the other guests waiting for dinner long after the gong had sounded, and when he made an appearance everyone remarked that he was not himself. His face was flushed, he seemed to gasp for breath, and the muscles of the throat twitched convulsively. When soup was served M—— shuddered, and, laying down his spoon, said, "I can't bear the sight of this." The host remarked that he must be suffering from fever, and advised him to lie down and take a dose of quinine. With many apologies, M—— retired to his room. A gloom was cast on the meal by his departure, and as soon as the ladies had withdrawn, the Colonel went upstairs to see how the patient was progressing. He found the poor fellow in violent convulsions, and sent for the station doctor. The latter prescribed a calming potion and iced water, but the patient could swallow nothing. At length he became comparatively calm, and laid his head on the pillow in apparent exhaustion. The doctor took advantage of the cessation

of spasms to diagnose the strange symptoms, and asked M—— pointedly whether he had been recently bitten by a dog. After a few moments' reflection, the patient said that a month previously he had accompanied Mrs. T—— to the Viceroy's pretty suburban retreat hard by. In the stables there was a large collection of pet dogs, to which Lady Mayo was very partial, and amongst them a fox-terrier with a litter of puppies. M—— tried to fondle one of the latter, but the mother bit him slightly on the thumb. He sucked the wound, and bound it with a handkerchief; but it healed in a day or two, and had been completely forgotten. On examining the scar, our doctor saw that it was very much inflamed, and frankly told his patient that if he had any affairs unsettled he should lose no time in arranging them. Poor M—— received his death sentence with equanimity, dictated his will, and was barely able to sign it when the convulsions returned. He sunk at day-break from complete exhaustion.

Very little can be done in such cases. The patient should be kept in a darkened room, protected from noise and draughts of air. There is an eruption under the tongue which is believed to be characteristic of hydrophobia; if this be found, the vesicles should be pricked. Hourly doses of a drachm of bromide of potassium in 6 ounces of distilled water should be given, with 10 grains of chloral every four hours. Liquid nourishment is essential if the throat-spasms admit, and the patient can sometimes manage to swallow if he close his eyes. As a last resort, recourse may be had to the old-fashioned expedient of copious bleeding from the arm. But prevention is proverbially better than cure. In all cases of a bite from any animal known or suspected to be rabid, the victim should adopt the primary treatment outlined in this paper, and should then betake himself to the nearest institute or laboratory where Pasteur's "vaccine" treatment is available.

## EDUCATION AND REFORM IN CHINA.

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It is plainly evident that, under present conditions, there will be no attempts at revolution in China either by the people against the Government or by the Government in favour of reform.

The overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, so long the dream of endless Chinese politicians, has become almost an impossibility, and can never be accomplished except by a complete change of circumstances. The foreign Powers are at present the real masters of China, and they would not countenance anything like a revolution which would disturb trade and affect the interests which they represent. In addition, by the late "Agreement," arms and ammunition cannot be imported into the country, so any intended rebellion must fail because its promoters would have to fight with very deficient weapons.

Nor can it be expected, as long as the Empress-Dowager remains in power, that there will be any very great or rapid reform movement, even allowing for the surprises which that energetic lady loves to effect. However, a revolution is not the only remedy in the hands of the forces of progress, and the golden era in the history of China can only be reached by the slow but certain influence of education.

This, as far as it concerns a nation, may be divided under two heads, namely : the knowledge and experience of a larger world, gained through the medium of trade and intercourse with other nations ; and the more direct method of teaching through the medium of schools and colleges. Of the first kind it is not our intention to write at the present time, but its influence may be plainly seen in such places as Canton, Shanghai, and Tientsin, where there is a large foreign community engaged in the pursuit of commerce.

With regard to the question of education in the strict sense of the term, it is necessary to speak of what has been and what is to be rather than what exists at the present moment, for the Boxer movement of 1900 completely destroyed the educational work in North China, and things are only just looking up again. It is during this period of reconstruction that several questions of great importance to educationalists have come to the front and are exciting much interest.

In South and Central China the year 1900 was not so fatal to education, but, unfortunately, most of the largest schools were in the North.

With regard to the future, there are three sources from which educational activity may be expected to spring, and the first of these is, naturally, the Chinese Government.

Whatever may be the faults of the Chinese Government, it cannot be accused of not expressing good, and even noble, sentiments in favour of education. Some of the edicts issued show a perfect understanding of the needs of the people, and nothing is wanting to prove the sympathy of the Government in the matter.

The last great edict demanded the establishment of a provincial University in the capital of every province, with intermediate schools in the "fus" or important cities, and primary schools wherever needed. Western learning was to be taught in the intermediate schools and further developed in the Universities. Provision was also made for the establishment of a translation bureau on the premises of the old Reform Club at Peking, and various officials received appointments, to which were attached titles admirably suited for the work in view.

Unfortunately, Chinese schemes of organization, though often most correctly presented, almost invariably end with the paper on which they were formed. The first difficulty encountered works vividly upon the imagination of the organizers, methods of caution are at once suggested, and the whole affair is quietly dropped.

There are, however, some notable exceptions, and first place must be given to Yuan Shih-kai, the successor to Li Hung Chang as Viceroy of Chihli. He was a military official, but since his appointments to civil offices his rise has been extremely rapid, and at present he is probably the most powerful man in China. He is very progressive, but his methods are tempered with a caution so conspicuously absent in those of the earlier reformers. The Chihli Provincial University at Pao-ting-fu is already in working, under the directorship of Dr. Tenney, late Head of the Provincial College in Tientsin, which before its destruction sent a large number of its pupils to America for further study. The other schools in the province are also being organized by Dr. Tenney, and everything is progressing favourably. In addition the Viceroy is establishing a translation bureau, which is to be supported by the five northern provinces, and Chihli in particular.

If the Peking University were a limited company, I am afraid its shares would have a small market value. The foreign staff has been done away with, and it is their intention to work with Chinese teachers, though nothing seems very definite. In order that progress may be reported, a delegate has been sent to study the educational system in Japan; and though he is a well-known reformer, and may be able to give valuable advice, it is not at all likely that much good will come out of his visit.

In Shansi the Government are building a University as a monument to the martyrs of 1900, and they have put everything into the hands of Dr. Timothy Richard for a period of ten years, so there is little fear of a retrogressive policy during that period. In fact, so alarmed were some of the Conservatives that they intended to start the provincial University in direct opposition, but the diplomacy of Dr. Richard saved such a calamity, and the two systems are to work in union. Even if all the Viceroys and Governors followed the example of Yuan Shih-kai, there are certain difficulties in the way of securing a good educa-

tional system for China, and they cannot be removed immediately.

The first of these difficulties lies in the want of teachers. The number of Chinamen who possess any learning beyond that of their own classics is extremely small, and inadequate to properly supply the needs of a single province.

The Chinese officials are very reluctant to engage foreign teachers, partly on the ground of expense, and partly because of their ancient prejudices, and until some strong line is taken little progress will be made.

On the other hand, the number of foreigners who are qualified to teach Chinese scholars is extremely limited, and nothing is more painful than the attempts of a foreigner who understands a little Chinese trying to teach Chinese students who know a little English.

This leads to one of the most interesting educational problems of the present time, namely, whether Western learning, and especially the sciences, should be taught to the Chinese in their native tongue or in English. Educational experts are sharply divided over the matter, and such high authorities as Dr. Richard and Dr. Sheffield hold that the teaching should be given entirely in Chinese, while English should be taught as a separate subject.

This method has the advantage of enabling the student to get a grasp of a new and difficult subject from the beginning; for to attempt to learn such a science as chemistry in a language which is but half understood, must, of necessity, be an almost impossible task. In those colleges where there is a three or four years' course the time is not sufficient to enable the students to first learn English and then to take the sciences; but in such colleges as St. John's at Shanghai, where the course extends over seven years, it would, perhaps, be better for the students to first perfect themselves in English, and then go on to more advanced work.

On the other hand, it is argued with perfect truth that the teaching of sciences in Chinese has many disad-



vantages. It, of course, demands that the teacher should be a good Chinese scholar, and it also prevents any study except in those books which have been translated into Chinese, which will doom the student to a very limited number of books, and prevent any such thing as original research or self-help.

In addition, the Chinese system of writing is very badly adapted for the use of symbols and abbreviations, which will make any scientific work very slow and tedious. However, there is a band of very enthusiastic and devoted educationalists in China, and a committee has been at work for some time with the purpose of getting a uniform system of scientific terms and symbols, reforming a great many of those already in use, and devising new ones wherever necessary. The task is one of great difficulty, but a good deal has been done already, and it is hoped before long that the results will be published for the benefit of all concerned. When this proper system has come into use, it will be possible to translate scientific books into Chinese, with the knowledge that someone else beside the author will be able to understand what is really meant.

Another matter which furnishes a powerful argument for the Conservatives is the admitted fact that many of the students who are educated at foreign-managed institutions are bad Chinese scholars, because so much of their time is given to other subjects. This is, of course, a just cause for complaint, and it will be remedied in the future. In the Government University at T'ai-yuen in Shansi and in the Chihli Provincial University only those students are admitted who have already taken the Chinese B.A. examination. This remedy, however, cannot be applied to those schools and colleges where young boys are trained.

The Conservatives have also been at their evil work in the demand that the statute which compels all the students in the Government colleges to pay reverence to Confucius should be rigorously enforced. This, of course, is intended to act against the students who are Christians, and who in

such a case have to choose between sacrificing their religion or their education.

In the Provincial University of Shantung, situated at Chinanfu, this demand on behalf of the late Governor and his friends brought matters to a crisis, and Dr. Hayes, the Principal, sent in his resignation rather than sacrifice the interests of the Christian students. This attitude of the Conservatives is in direct contradiction to the Treaty of Tientsin, which opens all the Government colleges to Christian students, and gives them equal advantages with their fellow-countrymen. The whole strength of the Christian forces in China was getting ready to oppose this retrograde and wanton policy, when the Governor of the province was removed, and a progressive and liberal-minded official, Chou Fu Shan, Treasurer of Chihli, was appointed to take his place, and the threatened storm was averted. With regard to the educational work done by foreigners in China, almost all the credit must be given to the missionaries.

It is difficult to name a prominent foreign educationalist in China who is not either a missionary or who was not at one time a missionary.

The Chinese themselves recognise the fact, and now that the question of education has come to the front, the influence of the missionaries has greatly increased. Such a course of things is only to be expected, for, except the missionaries, the Custom officials, and the British Consuls, the number of foreigners who understand the Chinese language is extremely small, so that very few of the ordinary foreign community could, even if willing, take much part in this kind of work. Of the missionary organizations which have devoted themselves to educational work, the chief credit must be given to the Americans, who, as far as they have gone, have been extremely successful. The English missionary organizations have, on the other hand, been very neglectful of this all-important branch of their work, and one of the largest and most influential of

the societies has up to the present devoted itself entirely to evangelical effort. This indictment may not be pleasant reading, and there are signs that in the future efforts will be made to remedy the great mistake; while exception must be made for certain individuals, such as Dr. Hart, who had an excellent college at Tientsin, and Dr. Richard, who has done so much in the way of translation.

The great hold which the Americans have in North China is almost wholly due to their missionaries, who have gained great influence on account of their excellent colleges and medical institutions.

The colleges of the Episcopal Methodists at Peking and Tientsin, that of the American Board at Tungchow, and, perhaps, above all, the work of that almost model institution, St. John's College at Shanghai, are examples of what has been done; while the Chinese scholarship and translation work of such men as Drs. Mateer, Martin, Sheffield, Willcocks, Pott, and many others, have caused the young Chinamen who are anxious to study abroad to prefer American Universities to the English ones, a fact which cannot but be disastrous to our influence in that country.

One of the most gratifying features of this period of re-organization is the evident desire of the various missionary societies to work in harmony, and to prevent overlapping as far as possible. A practical expression of this unity has shown itself in Peking, where several societies which previously had different colleges have decided to join forces for the future, and to have one large and properly organized college, and it is probable that the new educational buildings of the American Methodist Episcopal Society will be the chosen for this work.

The third and last source from which educational activity can spring is that of private enterprise, either in the shape of local organizations or of single individuals. There are several educational institutions which are supported and managed by a local committee, generally composed of

Chinese gentlemen, though in one or two instances foreigners are on the board.

The Polytechnic at Shanghai is an example, and it aims at teaching the mechanical sciences to Chinese youths. The attempt has not been a very successful one up to the present time. There is an excellent stock of apparatus, but the fickle nature of Chinese policy is demonstrated by the changes which are continually taking place in the management of the institution, and consequently good, consistent work cannot be done. For the majority of Chinese, however, the advent of the new learning simply means the studying of the English language, and in this direction the amount of energy which is displayed is extraordinary, and overshadows everything else. This is especially noticeable in the South and Centre of China, and to a somewhat less extent in the North.

A school where English is taught is at once besieged with applications from all sides, and the students, if they can afford it, are quite willing to pay well for their privileges. Teachers are at a premium, and anyone possessing the slightest knowledge of the language at once sets up an establishment and takes in pupils, but how some of these can impose on anyone for even an hour is a mystery. Often the pupil will take other pupils in his spare time and give them the lesson he had received the hour before.

Sometimes, as you are passing along the street, you will see a student scrawling away in a copy-book, and no doubt engaging in day-dreams of the great future which is before him when he has mastered his pot-hooks. The young reformers of the official classes and the common jin-rikisha coolie are equally strenuous in their attempts to learn our wonderful language, and many of them have rhymes by which English and Chinese words are strung together.

This has given rise to great activity in the book trade, and an enormous number of Anglo-Chinese reading-books are being sold. Some of these come from the foreign presses,

a good many are pirated by the Chinese, while a few are written by Chinese who have studied English.

In this connection many errors are made, and in one reading-book where there are many good moral precepts the pupil is solemnly informed that "Sin is not fun."

The situation is not without its amusing side, and actually men from neighbouring provinces who cannot understand each other's dialect converse in broken English.

One young student I met told me he had a great desire to visit England, because the people were all educated there. I afterwards learnt that, in order to become a better English scholar, he bought milk and beef out of his scanty store, as he believed they helped to give us our intellectual faculties.

He, however, was surpassed by the servant who listened patiently for many days to the mother calling the children to dinner, and on an important occasion proudly told the foreign guests "to wash their faces and come in to dinner."

This wonderful eagerness to learn the English language is the most promising sign in favour of our supremacy in that country. It must not be forgotten, either, that the advantages are the same for the Americans as for us, and that in them we have found our great rivals of the future. French is taught in a few of the Catholic Mission places, but there is no desire on the side of the Chinese to learn it, in spite of the fact that they are told it is the language of diplomacy. The Chinese know that English is the language of commerce, that a good knowledge of it will get them positions in firms and other institutions, and they want nothing more. The political reformers, the young men with dreams, the restless enthusiasts who want to throw aside the old ways by one huge effort, seem to take America for their model, but the old-fashioned trader and the cautious man of business still have a fondness for the name of England.

It is the duty of Englishmen to see that in both

directions progress shall be made. We must not be wholly absorbed in the extension of our trade, so that we neglect the powerful influences of education, and in the matter of business everything possible must be done to protect our great interests and to meet the ever-changing circumstances of the time.

As a last reflection we must remember that this work of education which is going on, after all, affects but a few chosen individuals, and that the countless masses will for long remain almost unconscious of what is being done. May the small leaven spread in all directions, and do something to better that strange and mysterious land!

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting held in the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, March 29, 1905, a paper was read by D. Edwards-Radclyffe on "Ramie, the Textile of the Future : a Promising Industry for India,"\* the Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., I.L.D., in the chair. Among others the following were present: Sir Charles Ollivant, K.C.I.E., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.I., Mr. Lesley Probyn, Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Dr. E. H. Hankin, M.A., Colonel Sherard, Mr. J. S. McConechy, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. W. Kirkpatrick, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. Victor Corbet, Mr. C. M. Kenworthy, Mr. G. A. Jackson, Miss Hilda Malony, Mr. Donald N. Reid, Mr. Bidyut Gangooly, Mr. Sparling Hadwyn, Mr. L. R. Davé, Mrs. Grosse, Miss A. Smith, Mr. A. Eggar, Mrs. Hastings, Mr. P. R. Sinha, Mr. Reasut Hosain, Mr. Mahomed Yunis, Mr. Mahomed Ishak, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

After the paper was read, MR. T. H. THORNTON asked if it would not be possible to get any supply from China.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE said he could not say "any" supply; they could get a supply, but they knew how exclusive China was in the matter of the opening of a new market, and capital was wanted.

MR. THORNTON: You say it could be produced in England also.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE said he did not say it was going to be produced in England at a profit, but he thought the time might come when it would be grown at a profit in England. In the case of cotton, American cotton could be obtained from fivepence per pound, but the Egyptian and Bahaman cotton fetched sixteenpence because of its superiority for certain manufactures. Ramie would mature far more slowly in England and Ireland, and when once ramie became known he believed that that grown here would fetch a larger price, because it must be stronger than that grown in tropical climates. He thought there would be a market for it here later on for special purposes.

MR. THORNTON said he recollected that in his time an immense deal of trouble was taken in order to endeavour to utilize the rhea fibre. Large rewards were offered to get over the difficulty of decortication, the removal of the outer sheath in order to get at the fibre, and it was said that until some cheap means of decortication could be found it could not be made profitable.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE observed that that was a point he had raised in the paper. The Chinaman did it without any mechanical means, and so could the Indians till the industry assumed proportions to warrant mechanical treatment.

\* For the paper, see elsewhere in this *Review*.

MR. THORNTON asked how the difficulty had been got over.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE produced a specimen illustrative of the condition in which the fibre could be sent over from India.

MR. THORNTON: The difficulty years ago was that they could not do it without great expense.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE said the Chinese made a sort of cottage industry of it, and that was, he hoped, one of the things that would come about in India. It could be grown by small men with patches of land.

MR. THORNTON: Have you brought it to the notice of the Indian Government?

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE said he had brought it to the attention of Mr. Holderness, who suggested his starting the industry in India, and who told him there were fortunes in it as clothing for the troops alone. He replied that the difficulty which confronted him was the difficulty of capital. No matter how clever a man might be, he could not get his ship along without wind. Mr. Holderness also said that this was undoubtedly an industry for India.

MR. DONALD REID, a planter from Behar, said ramie was now being grown in Behar, in his own district of Saran, by a French gentleman named Karpeles, with whom he had an argument in the daily papers in October and November of last year with reference to the cultivation of this plant. M. Karpeles had established two factories, and was growing the plant on what was known as the *zirāat* system; but if ramie was to pay at all and to benefit the cultivator, his own opinion was that it must be grown on a small scale—an acre or two in every village. There would then be thousands of acres under cultivation in every district of Bengal and Behar. Ramie had been grown in India from time immemorial, but only on a small scale. Mr. Mukerji, a native Indian gentleman, in his valuable handbook on Indian agriculture, thus described how ramie is prepared by native cultivators: "In Bogra the ribbons stripped from the stems are boiled in turmeric-water for a few minutes, or in water in which rice has been boiled. This operation softens the fibre and assists in the subsequent cleaning process. In Bhagalpur the green stems divested of leaves are boiled in water with the addition of ten chhitaks of *saji* per maund of plant put in the boiler, and the whole allowed to simmer or boil for one and a half or two hours. Bundles of boiled stems are afterwards dashed on a board until the pith is removed. The fibre is again boiled for half an hour in the original liquor, and then again beaten and washed on the board." He did not want to make money out of this, but he wanted to help the ryot. Some years ago, in 1892, he tried to patent a new process of indigo-steeping by means of vats, to which boilers were attached. Vats of this description could be erected in every village, and would not only revive the indigo industry, which was on its last legs, but would also assist the cultivation of ramie, which might be boiled and prepared in these vats. At present the indigo-planter made only from eight to ten seers per bigha from his plant, but with these vats he would make more, because the plant would be manufactured quickly, and, instead of the plant shedding its leaves on the ground and running to stalk, the



planter would get three heavy cuttings, and during the hot and cold weather he could work the ramie. Moreover, the vats could be made to act as a filter, after the water had been boiled in the boiler, during the cholera season, sand and charcoal being used, these being the best filtering materials known. Owing to this method of filtration, very few planters had suffered from enteric fever or typhoid, whereas that disease swept away soldiers in thousands. He did not, however, succeed in obtaining a patent, but with all the energy of which he was capable he would maintain that vats and boilers of this description should be erected in every village. To give an idea how British soldiers in India have suffered from cholera and typhoid, he mentioned the fact that in 1844-1845, the 78th Highlanders lost 3 officers, 532 men, 68 women, and 134 children—total 737 deaths—from fever contracted by drinking impure water. In the autumn of 1861 the 51st Regiment lost 256 men, 16 women, and 16 children, besides their Colonel, making a total of 289. This was from cholera.

SIR CHARLES OLLIVANT said that he rose in obedience to a call from the chair, but he must confess ignorance on the subject of fibres, being present at the meeting only as a learner, and because he took a deep interest in anything that might advance the industrial development of India. He was profoundly convinced that as the last thirty years had been marked in India by marvellous social changes, so the next thirty years would be characterized by altogether unprecedented developments of the natural resources and industries of the country. But another special cause of interest on his part was that years ago he had devoted a good deal of his leisure time to the reclamation of waste tracts along the western coasts of India, which were covered with sand-drift. He had been able to prove that such reclamations were not a mere matter of conjecture or experiment, but an assured success. His attention had been first drawn to the subject by reading a book of M. Edmond About's which described the territory along the coast north of Bordeaux known as Les Landes; and adapting the methods there described, he had succeeded in bringing into highly remunerative occupation some hundreds of acres of waste land near the mouth of the Tapti, and in preventing the further encroachment of sand-drift on the culturable lands beyond. On his way back from India he had taken the opportunity to visit the territory north of Arcaçhon, where a very large tract indeed, many miles in extent, had been reclaimed from sand-drift and was now covered with pine-forests. What had been done there, and what had been done at the mouth of the Tapti, could at very small outlay be done in all the sandy waste tracts along the coast of Western India from the Tapti to Cutch. Now, it might be asked what bearing had this on the subject of fibre. He understood that in connection with attempts to develop the production of aloë fibre the two principal difficulties were the want of suitable machinery and the want of sufficient land at a low rental in suitable localities. As to machinery he would not presume to offer an opinion; as to land the only alternative was between the ordinary cultivated land and a waste-land concession. The Government could not be a party

to a commercial speculation in agriculture; the agriculturist would grow the crops which he, or the money-lender on whom he depended, might think would pay him best. All that the Government could directly do in respect of any new venture was to initiate experiments in their industrial farms and technical schools, and to enlist the interest of the Chambers of Commerce. Beyond this the only appeal must be to self-interest and private enterprise. But the Government were always open to grant concessions of waste land on easy terms for reclamation purposes. The areas to which he had alluded, being near the sea and intersected with creeks, offered special facilities for transport, and he believed that if the machinery difficulties could be surmounted they would be found eminently suitable for the production of aloe fibre, as the common aloe flourishes all along the coast. Of one thing he was quite certain from his own knowledge and experience, that these areas could be reclaimed at small expense (differing in this respect from *salt* land reclamations), and ought to be utilized. And for this reason he had come to hear what was to be said about the production of ramie fibre, as to which until he entered the room he was in complete ignorance. But after seeing the samples of the plant and hearing what the lecturer had said in reply to questions, he recognised in ramie an old friend, which under the name of rhea had engaged a good deal of attention in India twenty-five or thirty years ago, and, from what he knew of it, he was afraid that there was no prospect of its taking kindly to sandy soil. The simple question, then, appeared to be whether under benevolent introduction it could offer such hopes of lucrative production as to displace other crops with advantage to the agriculturist. In other words, the only successful appeal must be to enlightened self-interest, and he could hardly doubt that such an appeal would be successful if the virtues ascribed to this fibre, "of being not only a preventive but a curer of colds," were well established, and the knowledge of them widely disseminated in this country.

MR. J. S. McCONECHY said he had been much interested in the paper, as for the last ten years he had been trying to induce Indians to bring this fibre into such a state as would meet the requirements of the manufacturers of Lancashire. One gentleman in Calcutta had taken the matter up experimentally, but, though he had spent a lot of money, he had not been able to do anything with it: not that there was any difficulty in growing it; the difficulty, as had been shown by the lecturer, was in degumming. Once that difficulty could be got over, there would, no doubt, be an enormous trade from India, because the manufacturers in Lancashire were, he knew, willing to take as much as they could possibly get, the different uses to which it could be put being well known there. There was no difficulty as to decortication, and he believed there were now machines that would do the degumming sufficiently to prevent the ramie breaking up into smaller fibres in the course of manufacture. Ramie could be sufficiently degummed by hand labour to supply a small market, but to make it a great commercial and financial success required that there should be some means of degumming it on a large scale, and when that could be done he was sure that both England and India would benefit immensely. The

reason that there was not so much ramie coming into this country from China was no doubt that the cleansing was effected by hand labour. Eight or nine years ago, when he was first looking into the matter, a company was formed to acquire very large plantations in Singapore or Johore to grow the fibre on scientific principles, and have it decorticated and degummed on the spot, and sent home ready for manufacture, so as to save half the cost in freight, intermediate charges, and so on ; but he had never heard that it was successful. Perhaps the lecturer might be able to tell them whether anything had been done in the Straits Settlements, for if there had been a success there, other parts of the world might be able to copy it. As to the statement that ramie could be grown almost anywhere, and certainly in all places where cotton could be grown, that might be true to a certain degree ; but he did not think it could be grown to any extent unless there was an abundant supply of water, possibly in Travancore and Bengal.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE said the company referred to by Mr. McConechy as having been formed to work in the Straits Settlements was promoted by a Mr. Macdonald, who unfortunately died whilst he was at work there, and the process died with him. Mr. McConechy had spoken of the difficulties of degumming the fibre, but if he would look at the specimens produced he would find the degumming was absolutely perfect. One of the specimens—the waistcoat he was wearing—he knew was prepared twelve years ago. The best proof he could give them was an old coat. If the material in that had not been properly prepared, it would have been liable to break, and would not have resisted wear as it had done. Another proof was an old machinist's coat, upon which there was hardly a mark, though it had been as black as coal from working in engine-rooms, and the severe work of the engine-rooms had not worn it out. If the degumming had not been effected with perfect care, he could not have shown them that result.

MR. MCCONECHY assumed that the degumming had been done by hand.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE said : No, the material could be degummed a ton at a time, but there were no plantations on which work could be carried on on so large a scale. If the material was only imperfectly prepared and sent over dry, the work would have to be done twice over, as it would have to be brought back to a fluid state, and it stood to reason they were taking away something of its life in bringing it back to its original condition. The Government wanted to prepare the stuff in a fluid state, but they went the wrong way about it ; as they did not know how to get it, they described the fluid condition as a condition in which it was impossible to work it. The process was so simple that there was no reason why it should not be set up in every village. The cottage industry would be the very best way of doing it till such areas were in cultivation that could be treated on a large scale by mechanical means.

MR. DONALD REID expressed the opinion that that was the only way in which it could be worked.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE exhibited a specimen produced by the

cottagers in China, who had no expensive machinery. The specimen was not degummed, but was sent over in the form shown.

MR. DONALD REID : Keep the speculator out of India, and you will get as much ramie as you want.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE : Nothing can be done in this world without money, and it is the speculator who has got it ; that, I think, is the root of all evil.

MR. DONALD REID : We do not want him in India.

MR. EDWARDS RADCLYFFE said they must appeal to his tender mercies not to squeeze them too much ; at the same time they wanted his capital. He did not see how the Government could very well create an industry unless they had a lot of land they did not know what to do with, but the Australian Government and the Government of New Zealand were making experiments. The Queenslanders, for instance, had got the sugar-crushing stations under Government control, and were, he believed, the only people who had made sugar pay. They would do well to start ramie degumming in the same way. The Government might offer prizes, which would be a great incentive to the industry, and, as Sir Charles Ollivant had said, they could make this matter known by bringing it to the notice of various institutions, such as the Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Agriculture. The present Director of Agriculture in India was working upon these lines, so that they had at the head of agricultural affairs in India at the present moment a man who was very anxious to see ramie cultivated there.

MR. SPARLING HADWYN said he understood the lecturer to say he could not get 100 tons of ramie per week in London, but he understood that the ramie industry in Germany, which was located at Cologne, was getting 1,000 tons a week from India.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE said he would very much like that we should take a leaf out of the Germans' book, because they had been going ahead, and whilst we had been going in a "go-as-you-please" fashion, they had been coquetting with our own planters. What we should do was to try and grow that which would be of the greatest benefit to our own people, and he was certain that ramie would be of great benefit to the people.

MR. SPARLING HADWYN asked Mr. Edwards-Radclyffe if he could give an estimate of what Manchester would take.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE said he thought the material would be taken up first by the flax and worsted spinners, Manchester being interested in cotton. Manchester would only use the dross of it, or the noils (by-product) ; he would not call it "dross" because it was beautiful stuff. In the form of a long sliver it would be used on silk machinery.

MR. SPARLING HADWYN asked the price per pound in the London market.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE said he would be happy to take orders from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d. per pound in sliver form, 5d. per pound in noils.

MAHOMMED YUNIS said that, after hearing the lecture, he thought the cultivation of the fibre would be a great advantage, but he did not think it could be grown in places where there was little rain or water, as it only

grew in marshy places which were very fertile. As regards a Government monopoly, perhaps the Government might be better able to conduct it, but the natives themselves were not in a position to take up any new industry. Perhaps the application of British capital might be found profitable. As to the degumming, he did not think it could be so easily done in India as in England, though it might cost more to do it here. The fibres were very easily separated from the stem. The stems were left in water for weeks; after that the stems were beaten and the fibres were easily taken off; but as regarded the possibility of a large growth, he did not think it would be more profitable than many of the other products of India.

LORD REAY, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, said they had heard a most interesting paper on a subject which would require some farther inquiry. He could quite corroborate what had been said by Sir Charles Ollivant, that the Government of India could not very well undertake the growth of agricultural produce on a large scale, as it would interfere with the agricultural activity of the ryot. As Sir Charles Ollivant had shown, there was great need in India for agricultural experiments. What the Government could do was to give every facility and encouragement to those who were prepared to start these experiments. Mr. Reid had clearly shown that the provision of certain mechanical appliances in the villages of India would enable the ryot to make them. But no allusion had been made to the native chiefs and great land-owners, some of whom, they knew, were prepared to encourage the growth of new industries and products, and he hoped the effect of the paper would be to attract the attention of the native rulers to the importance of ramie, as it would be much easier for them to start experiments than it would be either for the Government of India or for the local Governments. The Gaikwar of Baroda had shown his interest in the agricultural prosperity of his State by attaching a Chair of Agriculture to the college of Baroda, and that Chair was at one time occupied by a gentleman who now held a very prominent position in agricultural science in England. As showing that the Government of India do take an interest in scientific research, they would be pleased to hear that a resolution had lately been issued giving a handsome grant to the Tata Research Institute. The object of that Institute was to give to those who had graduated in science at Indian Universities facilities for further scientific research inquiries, and Mr. Tata, alive to the wants of India in regard to industries, had founded an institution for this purpose. Bangalore had been selected as the best locality for this Institute, and Mysore had made a liberal grant of five lakhs towards the erection of the buildings, together with a further annual grant in aid of 30,000 rupees. Personally, he was following this new movement with great interest, and he need hardly tell them how much would depend upon the man who would be appointed the first Principal of the Institute. Associated with the principal would be a staff of professors, which at first would not be a large one. The Institute would undoubtedly also be connected with the development of agriculture by means of agricultural chemistry, and by assisting the study of metallurgy would tend to the

development of the mineral wealth of India, and he had no doubt that sooner or later the question which the lecturer had introduced would also be taken up by the Institute. Practical results of great importance were therefore to be anticipated, for hitherto the Indian Universities had been hampered by the fact that there was in India no institution to which promising graduates could be sent. Negotiations with respect to the Institute were commenced several years ago, and in the meantime Mr. Tata had died; but, as showing his liberality of spirit, he might mention that he did not wish that the Institute should bear his name. Mr. Tata was very anxious that the Institute should be located in Bombay; but when these liberal proposals were made from Mysore, and when it was found that for the special work of the Institute the climate of Bangalore was preferable, Mr. Tata showed his devotion to the cause of scientific research by withdrawing the condition as to the erection of the Institute in Bombay, and allowing it to be founded for the general benefit of India in Mysore.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE acknowledged the vote, and expressed the hope that his paper would be the means of making ramie better known in India.

#### FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Thursday, April 13, 1905, a paper was read by Shaikh Abdul Qādir, B.A., (of the *Lahore Observer*) on "The Future of the Hindustani Language and Literature."\* Ameer Ali Esq., M.A., C.I.E., in the chair. The following, amongst others, were present: Prince Assadullah Mirza, Amy Lady Pelly, Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., and Mrs. Yate, Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Colonel A. T. Fraser, R.E., Colonel J. A. L. Montgomery, C.S.I., Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Raizada Hans Raj, Mr. Victor Corbet, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Donald Reid, Miss Hadwick, Mr. Haji Abdul Majid, Mr. N. D. Das, the Misses Delaney, Mr. P. K. Sinha, Mr. Bidyut Gangoly, Mr. H. J. Wallis, Mr. J. G. Silcock, Mr. N. R. Mohuidar, Mr. John Pollen, LL.D., C.I.E., Mr. Frederick Grubb, Miss A. Smith, Mr. Alexander Rogers, Miss Beck, General Trevor, Major H. Belgrami, Mr. Bashir Ahmad, Mr. C. W. Whish, Mr. A. Eggar, Colonel Ali Altoff, Mr. S. M. Naim, Mr. N. T. Eden, Mr. Harold Spender, Miss Frere, Major Wyndham Malet, Mr. Joseph Hyder, Mr. M. Asgar, Professor W. J. Simpson, Miss Hilda Malony, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. F. A. M. Hosein, Miss May Humphreys, Miss Lilian Humphreys, Miss L. H. Bates, Mr. Parmeshwar Lall, Mr. A. P. Dubi, Mr. T. Masaldan, Mr. H. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. Moazzam Ali, Shaikh Abdul Aziz, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon (Hon. Sec).

\* For the paper, see elsewhere in this *Review*.

The CHAIRMAN introduced the lecturer as a graduate of the Panjab University, possessing the reputation of a distinguished scholar, whose connection with the *Lahore Observer* had given him special facilities for discussing this subject.

After the paper was read, SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN congratulated the Association upon the honour done to them by an Indian gentleman of the highest reputation taking the chair, an example which would, he trusted, be often followed, and he would also express their appreciation of one of the most interesting lectures ever delivered to them. Having regard to the excellent language in which Shaikh Abdul Qādir had expressed his thoughts, they would be able to realize one of the reasons why Englishmen in India—the younger members of the service to which he had had the honour to belong—were not such proficient Hindustani scholars, as the generation before them, in the more elegant forms of that language, for when Indian gentlemen possessed so admirable a command of the English language, there was little reason or opportunity to speak to them in their own tongue. This failing, however, on the part of Englishmen, so far as it was due to the cause he had mentioned, was hardly a subject for complaint or, indeed, for regret. The want of a thorough knowledge of the vernacular in the present day was also, to a certain extent, due to a change in manners, for their predecessors in the services at a time when Indian society was not so conventional as it is to-day, had the advantage, in the study of Indian languages, of more agreeable teachers than fell to the lot of the Englishman in these days. Another reason, more accentuated now than formerly, was that the system of education in this country, so far as concerned the teaching of languages, was exceedingly inefficient and bad. If he wished to find an English educated clerk, possessing a competent knowledge of French or German, he would find it exceedingly difficult. The method of teaching modern languages was a disgrace to the educational system of England; and the same might be said of the way we taught the languages of India to men going out to serve there. At the same time, it was quite impossible that civilians, living among the people, and whose whole work was in the law court or among the native population in town or country, should not possess ample conversational facility in the popular vernaculars, and here he joined issue with the lecturer. There was, however, little in the paper with which he could not agree, and he had no doubt it would help a great many of them to realize, what perhaps they had hardly realized before, that Hindustani was becoming for Southern India what Persian used to be called, the French of Asia, the predominant language of India, and it would be a very good thing for the Eastern world when it should have attained the position prophesied for it by Shaikh Abdul Qādir. He had had the honour of having two of his own books—rather large and long ones, to the perusal of which he would not, therefore, invite them—translated into Hindustani by two of the finest scholars, the eminent Pundit Moti Lal, and Maulvi Muhammad Hussain Khan, for many years minister of His Highness the Maharajah of Patiala. He had therefore a personal love for, and interest in, the language which had represented his views as well as he could have himself represented them in

English. To one point he desired to call particular attention. It was in Lahore that he had spent a considerable part of his official life, and he thought that Shaikh Abdul Qādir would admit that he had made an oversight in not mentioning amongst the names of those who had done so much for the Hindustani language and Eastern languages generally the name of a distinguished colleague of the Association, Dr. Leitner, who had done more probably than anybody else to encourage the study of the arts and sciences of the West through the medium of the Indian vernacular. Dr. Leitner, assisted by Sir Donald McLeod and others, was the originator and founder of the Lahore University, at which Shaikh Abdul Qādir received his education. That University was founded principally for the development and improvement of the modern languages and the conservation of the ancient languages of India, and for teaching the people what the West had to teach them through the medium of the vernacular, and in an assembly like this they should not forget that to Dr. Leitner India owed a large debt of gratitude.

MR. PARMESHWAR LALL said he thought he would be expressing the feeling of the entire meeting if he conveyed their thanks to the lecturer. The paper showed that Hindustani had a great future before it. Shaikh Abdul Qādir had not clearly stated the great difference between Hindi and Urdu, for he said that the difference between the two languages was only that one was written in the Sanscrit, and the other in the Persian, character; but the difference was much greater than that. When the literary Indian wrote in Hindi he appealed to the literary sense of the Hindoo. All his expressions, all his allusions, and the entire bent of his mind were derived from the Sanscrit; whereas the writer in Urdu derived his inspiration from the Persian. The genius of the two languages was, therefore, essentially different, and it was impossible to unify them, however great the desire to do so might be. To impress upon both one uniform type would mar the genius of both, in view of the last census report. Mr. Qādir appeared very hopeful about the future of the Hindustani language, but all might not be able to share his opinions. It was undoubtedly a fact, which was often lost sight of, that the Indian people were becoming more and more weak in more ways than one by reason of the Government being a foreign Government, which took from the country a large measure of her wealth for which the people of India got no return. The people possessed a large measure of ability for which they had no scope, and a large number of foreigners were sent out to take the bread out of their mouths. So long as this Government continued, and so long as the temper of the Government was not mitigated by more liberal measures, the future of the Hindustani-speaking people did not appear bright; and as the future of a language depended upon its people, and as the future of the Hindustani-speaking people did not appear bright, the future of their language could not appear to be so.

MR. C. W. WHISH claimed to have some right to address the meeting upon the subject, as he was, perhaps, the only Englishman in the room who had written a book in the Hindustani language. He could not say he had written it with his own hand, as he had preferred to dictate it. It seemed to be quite understood that Urdu, as he preferred to call it, was the *lingua*



*franca* of Asia, and was the medium of communication which made it possible for those travelling over the length and breadth of India to have intercourse with the people, and therefore it was a most important language to acquire for those who wished to get some insight into the true inwardness of Indian life. But if Urdu was to have a future as a language, there should be an institution resembling the Académie Française, which should settle disputed points of grammar and phraseology, and make it a classical language. Those using the language should sternly set their faces against the admixture of English words. Anyone reading the Indian vernacular journals would find an enormous admixture of such words, which had the effect of demoralizing the language. No language could have a future unless it possessed a literature, and, unless such things as he had drawn attention to were remedied, the future of Urdu literature would not be bright. Another important point was that a movement to introduce the Roman character should be countenanced, but he supposed the Indian gentleman would set his face against that just as Prince Bismarck set his face against giving up the German character, because he said it would denationalize the Germans. But while he did not think the introduction of the Roman character would have the effect of denationalizing the Indians, it would have many advantages. In the first place, everybody would be able to read the language; secondly, though this was a subsidiary point, foreign administrators would be able to come in touch with the people in a way they could not come in touch with them to-day, because they would be able to receive petitions, and read them without the intervention of any subordinate. There was a tremendous field open for the translation of the great epics and dramas of India, such as "The Toy Cart" and "The Lost Ring," which would have the effect of putting one in possession of the real inwardness of the feelings of the people in a way that nothing else could. He was not aware whether there were such translations in existence, but perhaps the lecturer in his reply would enlighten them upon that point. A great many more Indian officials would have been able to read the language had it been written in the Roman character. Fond as he was of the language, and talking it glibly as he did, he would not undertake to read an Urdu paper. The translation of standard school-books, as he believed the lecturer had stated, seemed to him to be very necessary indeed, so that the Urdu-speaking peoples might have access to the stores of Western knowledge. While paying all due homage to Dr. Leitner for what he had done, he thought they should, in the interests of Urdu journalism, also remember the name of Munshi Nawal Kishor, of Lucknow—a great friend of his own, who had done a great deal to popularize Urdu by publishing a daily paper. His purse was unreservedly at disposal for the publication of works for the benefit of India, and if gentlemen would follow in his train a great deal might be done for the welfare of this language.

DR. POLLEN said he had never written a book in Hindi or Hindustani, nor had any works of his, so far as he knew, been translated into that language, but he had written and read a good many letters and petitions in that language, and in the days of his youth had been rash enough to

make a proposal similar to the one made by Mr. Whish, that Hindi should be written in the Roman character, and he never regretted anything so much in his life. The whole of Scinde rose against him, though they knew he was a friend of the country, for they regarded the suggestion as an attack on the picturesque Persian and the stately Sanscrit characters, and thus a national affront. He agreed with Mr. Whish that it would be a very good thing if Hindustani could be written in the Roman character, but he was not prepared to move that proposition against the sentiment of the Indian people. As Mr. Parmeshwar Lall had pointed out, the lecturer was perhaps not quite accurate in declaring that Urdu and Hindi were identical; but he did not accept Mr. Parmeshwar's opinion that there was no future before the language, because there was no future before the people of India. He thought there was now a much more glorious future before them than there ever would or could have been if they had been allowed to go on as they were going on in Hindustan before the English came upon the scene. As he (Dr. Pollen) cordially agreed with the lecturer in all his conclusions, he found himself in the same difficulty as Sir Lepel Griffin in being unable to discover any points of controversy in the paper. He thought the paper was throughout distinguished by three things—love, tolerance, and hope. The lecturer, while loving his own native language, was tolerant towards that of others, and was full of hope for the future of Hindustani; and Dr. Pollen shared that hope, for he could not help feeling that Hindustani stood in the same relation to the various nationalities of India as Esperanto (the new neutral international language, of which he was an advocate) was intended to hold towards the peoples of Europe. Esperanto was destined to become the second or neutral tongue of Europe, just as Hindustani was the second or neutral tongue of India. Hindustani had of recent years acquired a literature; while Esperanto was labouring under the disability—or rather disadvantage—of not yet possessing one. But literature would come in time; and what was really wanted was a colloquial common dialect to enable a man from whatever country he came to communicate freely with the people of the country he happened to be visiting. Dr. Pollen concluded by congratulating Shaikh Abdul Qādir most heartily on his admirable paper.

MR. COLDSTREAM observed that the paper was written in such excellent English that it vindicated the right of Shaikh Abdul Qādir to address the meeting critically upon the subject of the Urdu language and literature; and it deserved a place in the archives of the Association, and, indeed, in general literature, as one of the first attempts to interest a London audience on the subject. He was glad that justice had been done to the effort of Mr. George Ward to bring the Hindustani novel in its English dress before the English public. What Mr. Qādir had said about the desirability of more accurate and extensive knowledge on the part of civilians of the language of the people among whom their work lay was of great importance. Personally, he, and he thought most civilians who had lived in India, had had often felt ashamed that they had not, as a body, a fuller and more intimate knowledge of the language of the country in which they spent the greater part of their lives.

He was sorry the point as to the extension of the English language in India had not received more adequate treatment, as it was certainly complementary to the question of the extension of Hindustani, and a development which they must watch with the greatest interest.

Attention to the Hindustani language and literature was a symptom and development of the approximation of East and West, a matter which he was sure all in the room had at heart.

He ventured to think that not only Hindustani but the languages of India generally should become better known in England. It had long been an idea of his that Londoners should become more familiar with the scripts of these languages. It would, for instance, be very interesting, and would, he thought, tend to the building up of the Empire, if we could see the panels and arches of our great public buildings and architectural monuments bearing sculptured inscriptions in these languages. That would be some recognition of the many different people speaking different tongues, over whom King Edward rules. These scripts were often picturesque and even decorative in form. The Muhammadans had for many ages adorned their public buildings in all parts of the world, from Hindustan to Gibraltar, with inscriptions in Toghra and Nasktalik and other forms of Arabic character; and from the point of view of mere decorative effect these sculptured inscriptions were not to be despised. The flowing Persian script, the massive and stately Devanagari, and the circular characters of South India, all had characteristics of their own. He ventured to think it would cheer the hearts of those who come from remote parts of the Empire to this centre if, when they come here, they could see on our public buildings and in public places examples of the scripts with which they were familiar. It would stimulate the feelings of fellow-citizenship and loyalty. Lord Reay had said that no Indian should regard himself as a foreigner on the streets of London; and he hoped that our Indian fellow-subjects were beginning to find themselves more and more at home here. He threw it out as a slight suggestion with a view to cementing East and West, and bringing India a little nearer to us, that the scripts of her languages should be more in evidence in London.

SHAIKH ABDUL QĀDIR, in replying to the discussion, thanked the meeting most heartily for the appreciative references to his paper. With regard to the remarks of Sir Lepel Griffin, he observed that all recognised in the Panjab how great a debt of gratitude they owed to Dr. Leitner, not only as the organizer and founder of the University, but as being the first to understand the importance of the development of the language and literature of the country, and to discover proper men to do that work. Maulvi Muhammad Husain Azad, to whom reference was made in the paper, was discovered by Dr. Leitner, and his best work was inspired by him. Dr. Leitner was also the founder of what at its time was a very good association, the Anjuman-i-Panjab, under the auspices of which was held a *Mushaira*, where the literary men of the day used to get together to read papers on different literary subjects. Some of those papers formed part of the literary stores of Upper India at the present day. With regard to the point raised by Mr. Parmeshwari Lall as to the difference between Hindi

and Urdu, he thought he could prove to the satisfaction of any fair critic that the two languages were essentially the same, in spite of the differences which were made so much of, and he would be very glad, if need be, to read a paper before this or any other association on that particular subject. As to Mr. Whish, for whom and whose work he had a great admiration, he was one of those members of the Indian Civil Service who had devoted themselves to the study of the Indian languages, and really had some claim to speak with authority on the question. He differed from him, however, in the suggestion as to the adoption of the Roman character. That was a point also upon which he would like some day to speak at length. The character in which Urdu was at present written was essentially the same as the Arabic and the Persian. The character was based on a natural phonetic system, and had certain other advantages which recommended themselves very strongly for its retention and adoption even by those who had other characters. That was a fact which he thought was bound to be recognised some day, though it was too soon to hope it would be recognised at present. Another reason why the suggestion as to the adoption of the Roman character became difficult was that the Persian character was a common bond between a number of Asiatic countries, and Asia, though recognising the value of many European institutions and adopting them, still wanted to keep that common bond between its different countries, and India could not afford to take a line different from Persia, Arabia, and Turkey, which countries had no reason for adopting the English or Roman character, and were going to retain their own script. If India should give up its own character and adopt a character alien to the genius of the language, she would also give up the opportunities of expansion in Asia, to which allusions had been made in the debate on the paper. As to the suggestion for the translation of the great Sanscrit works, especially the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, it was certainly worthy of serious consideration by every scholar and student of Urdu; but for such work was wanted a scholar knowing both Urdu and Sanscrit well, and such a man was not yet forthcoming. If Mr. Sayyid Ali Bilgrami, of Cambridge, would undertake this work—he had the necessary gifts, and was a recognised scholar in Sanscrit,—he would be laying the whole of the Urdu reading public under a lasting debt of gratitude. So far as he was aware, no really good translation of these works existed. There were translations of some well-known Sanscrit works in Urdu, both in prose and verse, but those were not of sufficient literary value to be mentioned with standard and classical works like the famous epic of ancient India.

As to the observations that fell from Dr. Pollen, he valued them extremely, and was glad to notice the views of the doctor so entirely in accord with his own. He was glad that a civil servant of the long experience and standing of Mr. Coldstream should have supported his views as to the importance of young Indian civilians trying to know more of the languages of the people of India. As to Mr. Coldstream's idea of decorating the public buildings with Eastern characters so that people from the East coming here without any knowledge of English, might learn the character of the various public buildings from such inscriptions, and might feel at home

in this country, it was a capital idea, and he could see no supreme difficulty in the way of its adoption.

The CHAIRMAN observed that it was usual at these functions, in winding up the proceedings with a vote of thanks to the lecturer, for the chairman to make a few remarks. He desired to congratulate Shaikh Abdul Qādir on his excellent paper, and also upon the admirable tact with which he had avoided all controversial matters. Mr. Abdul Qādir had sketched with great felicity and clearness the future of what he (the Chairman) regarded as one of the most important languages of modern India, the value of which as a factor in the administration of the country and in its social development was, he feared, often lost sight of. Recently in his search for other matters he came across an article written sixty years ago in the *Calcutta Review*, in which the language, designated by Mr. Abdul Qādir, Hindustani, but which he preferred to call Urdu, was described in these terms: "A speaking tongue so inviting as to be employed more or less in conversation over the whole of our Indian Empire: a written language in which are united many of the best qualifications of those of the ancient and modern world. The expressiveness of the verbs, the overflowing abundance of actives and neuters, the union of nouns and adjectives drawn from an old and a new source, the absence of all stiffness and the clear but soft tones into which its sentences resolve themselves, these are a few of the advantages which stamp the Urdu language as one to whose perfectibility there is no definite limit." (He had quoted the exact words in order that it might not be supposed, being a Muhammadan, he was prejudiced in its favour.) This was written long before the copious literature to which the lecturer had referred had sprung up. What the writer in the *Calcutta Review* prognosticated sixty years ago has already happened. There are now works in history, in philosophy, in almost every department of literature in the Urdu language, and he entertained the hope that before long, in spite of the divergences that people were attempting to create—divergences which did not altogether owe their origin to the people of the country—the value of the Urdu language as a factor in the intellectual and social development of India would be more appreciably recognised than is at present the case. In his evidence before the Education Commission he had ventured to point out what he considered the mistake made by the Government in the first half of the nineteenth century. Had Urdu been retained as the official language of subordinate courts and executive offices, the difficulties which are now forcing themselves upon its attention would have been materially avoided. It is easier for an officer to acquire a thorough mastery over one general language like Urdu, and that in a short space of time, than over several provincial tongues. With a good knowledge of Urdu, a Bengali, Mahratti, or Madrassi officer could have had his services utilized in any province of India. An English officer could have been moved from one province to another without the least difficulty or trouble, whilst his mastery over the *lingua franca* of the land would have put him in touch, certainly in better touch than is possible at present, with the people wherever he went. The mistaken, though perhaps well-meant, policy of the thirties, put an end forever to this consummation. We have

to make the best use of the present system. And under it the only thing left to be done is to recognise the capabilities of a language "whose influence is felt as widely as the French," and which contains within itself the utmost possibilities of development. No two languages, it seemed to him, resembled each other so much as English and Urdu, not only in their evolution and formation but also in their power of expression.

DR. DONALD REID observed that Gaelic and Urdu were more closely allied.

The CHAIRMAN replied that, not knowing the Gaelic, he could express no opinion on that point, but, with a certain knowledge of English and Urdu, he was able to compare the two. So far as evolution was concerned, it was not necessary for him to mention at this meeting how English had grown up. It was a composite language, formed by the fusion of two different races, not drawing its life from one source alone, but from many sources. The same was the case with Urdu. The language had grown up from the contact of numerous races which the invasion of India by the Muhammadans brought into the country. However they might look upon the introduction of the Muhammadan element, the fact was that they had been there over 1,100 years, and still remained. The admixture of the various races—the Turks, the Persians, the Arabs, the Afghans—all tended to bring into India a variety of tongues, and necessity led to their fusion into Urdu. Urdu was thus as much "composite" as English, and, like it, drew its wealth not from any particular language, but from all sources—from Sanscrit, from Arabic, from Persian, and from Turkish. Personally he did not deprecate the introduction into it even of English words. There were many expressions in use in the English language which it would require a certain amount of circumlocution to express in an Oriental tongue. He ventured to say that Urdu was the most copious and versatile language of modern India, destined to spread itself far beyond its present limits. He did not for a moment wish to disparage or underrate the worth of the provincial dialects; but, as Mr. Abdul Qādir had pointed out, they must, from their constitution, remain confined within certain limits. One fact was not to be overlooked. Until quite recently Urdu was, throughout India, the language of culture and refinement. Latterly, in some quarters, and to a limited extent, English has taken its place. But among the mass of the people, and in the ordinary walks of life, it still retains, and, he ventured to think, would always retain, its old position. It stands to the inhabitants of India in the same relation as Norman-French to the Saxon race. It has supplied them with most of the expressions which relate to social conventions, household comforts, the conveniences of existence, the appliances of art. Even the most determined advocate of the old archaic Hindi would prefer to call the important functionary who rules over the kitchen by his Urdu name, *bāwarchi*, vulgarized into *bobarchi*; and the magnate, who is most earnest against Urdu, would not give his butler any other name than *khānsamah*, whilst Anglo-Indian households know no other designations. To give an example from the lowest strata: the rug which furnishes the peasant's cottage (*shatranji*) and the name he bears (*raiya*) are Urdu—of course borrowed from Western Asia.

The lecturer has given us the names of several Muhammadan scholars who have enriched by their writings the Urdu language. He (the Chairman) would mention a few Hindoo litterateurs who, within recent times, regarded it as the common language of their country, and loved to express in it their thoughts: Khub Chand (surnamed "*Zuka*"), Bakhtāwar Sing (*Ghāfil*), Maharaja Balwant Sing (*Rāja*), Lalla Bilas Roy (*Rangin*), Raja Nawnidh Roy, Budh Singh (*Qalandar*), Lalla Ratan Lal, Ajodhya Pershad (*Hairat*), Lalla Mahanund Singh (*Firigh*), Lachmiram Pandit (*Fida*), Pandit Dayadin (also called *Fida*)—all wrote in Urdu.

With regard to the remark of Mr. Parmeshwar Lal that an alien government, like the British, was prejudicial to the development of both Urdu and Hindi, he wished to express his entire dissent. He believed that if only the prejudices of certain individual officers could be eliminated, British rule would prove of the utmost benefit not only to the wider diffusion of the Urdu language, but also to its development. In his opinion the lecturer was right in saying that, in substance, there was very little difference between Urdu and polished Hindi. Whatever difference there was appeared to him mostly artificial. Evidently Mr. Parmeshwar Lal had in his mind the *Thenth* Hindi, the rough, uncouth dialect of the rural population in some parts of the North-West. To quote the writer in the *Calcutta Review*: "The barren vocabulary of the aboriginal tribes enslaved by the advancing Aryans, joined to the language of the conquerors, had become in a moderate space of time the simple and articulate Hindi." *Thenth* Hindi is evidently a survival of that ancient and archaic tongue which was spoken by the masses when the Muhammadans entered India, and which now forms the foundation of the Urdu language. He did not think that Hindi would ever go beyond a certain limit. He joined with Shaikh Abdul Qādir in the hope that every effort would be made for the better teaching of the language not only in India, but in this country, and that officers going out would make themselves familiar with it. With regard to the introduction of the Roman character, he would like to point out that it could never express the sounds of the Oriental languages, and persons acquainted with Persian or Urdu would find considerable difficulty in reading Urdu works written in the Roman character. Besides, any attempt in that direction would meet with great disfavour. It would be remembered what great difficulties the judicial officers experienced when documents written in the Nagri or Kaithi character had to be read out in Court, the time and labour that had to be wasted over them, not to speak of the tax on one's patience. The same would be the case, he believed, with Urdu documents in the Roman character. In conclusion, he proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Abdul Qādir for his interesting lecture, which, he hoped, would be carried with acclamation.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN proposed a vote of thanks to the chairman, whose acknowledgment terminated the proceedings.

## FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

At a meeting held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Thursday, June 8, 1905, a paper was read by F. H. Skrine, Esq., on "Hydrophobia in the East," Sir Edward Strachey, Bart., M.P., in the chair. Among those present were: Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Colonel Wintle, R.A., Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Rev. Dr. Bhabba, Colonel John Stewart, C.I.E., of Ardvorlich, Dr. and Mrs. E. Haughton, Dr. Stenson Hooker, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. T. Durant Beighton, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. H. Crouch Batchelor, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. Victor Corbet, Mr. J. W. Fox, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. F. H. Brown, Miss A. Smith, Mr. Donald Reid, Mrs. Grein, Mr. J. R. Hallett, Mr. Leonard Magnus, Mr. Sinha, Mr. C. A. Kelly, Mr. T. Lukes, Mrs. Woodward, Mr. C. J. Bond, Mrs. Maurice Grant, Mr. A. H. H. Matthews, Mr. Martin Wood, Mrs. MacLagan, Mrs. G. Magrath, Mr. Davé, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN called upon Mr. F. H. Skrine to read his paper.\*

DR. EDWARD HAUGHTON said that he had had a good deal to do with this matter, because he had had in his house for several years a bath available for anybody who chose to make use of the Buisson treatment, which Mr. Skrine had alluded to. The lecturer referred to the number of failures of this treatment, but he (Dr. Haughton) had only heard of one, the case of a captain at Long Island in America. In his case the symptoms seemed to have begun and gone on to almost the second stage before the treatment was tried. He did not regard the Buisson treatment as having any very specific relationship to the poison supposed to exist in cases of hydrophobia, but its beneficial action could be explained in a very simple way. In the first place, the vapour bath, which was used at a high temperature, acted on the nervous system, and had a distinctly calming effect; and in the second place, the vapour bath removed through the skin a good deal of the elements which might be productive of injury. Being a medical man, he had to think of tetanus at the same time as he thought of hydrophobia, but the lecturer had not mentioned tetanus, commonly called lockjaw. Lockjaw, being a prominent symptom of this disease, had impressed itself upon the public mind more perhaps than any other symptom, but it was also accompanied by the most horrible spasms and terror. Cases of recovery from the disease were very few; people generally died of it, even after the Pasteur system had been adopted, if the symptoms had really begun. M. Pasteur himself admitted that, because he refused cases in which the symptoms had actually begun, and he (Dr. Haughton) knew of one case refused in this way by M. Pasteur which was subsequently cured by the Buisson treatment. Dr. Buisson had declared that he himself had treated eighty cases with success in which the patients had

\* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.



undoubtedly been bitten by rabid dogs. He was glad the lecturer had in some measure explained the difference between the disease in the dog, which was called rabies, and the disease in the human being, which was called hydrophobia, because a dog did not have hydrophobia, neither did a man have rabies. This difference in the symptoms was generally accounted for on the supposition that the poison acted differently on the system of a man and the system of a dog; and that was one of the objections to the conclusion to be attained by vivisection experiments, because the substance which would kill a man would not always kill an animal of the same size, neither would the same thing which would kill the animal kill the man. (Hear, hear.) One reason why less of the anæsthetic was given than was pretended was because the animal was very liable to die under the anæsthetic if given in sufficient amount to completely anæsthetize it. There was not a single point in the lecture which had not been debated for the last fifteen years. He had not heard of a genuine case of hydrophobia for a number of years; and the Royal Commission, when about to send in their Report, delayed it for a whole year before they could get a case which could be guaranteed as a genuine and undeniable case of hydrophobia. There was no great cause for alarm, because one in a million was about the average number liable to it in this country, or even in France. But on looking at the statistics of the deaths from hydrophobia, he found they increased very considerably in a few years after the Pasteur Institute had been established. Therefore he thought there was no more effective way of wasting money than by setting up such an institute here.

MR. F. LORAIN PETRE thought the general opinion was that the Pasteur preventive system had worked great results, and that the general trend of modern opinion was in favour of it. He proposed to supplement what Mr. Skrine had said by giving a few details of what had been actually done so far in India, and a few remarks on what remained to be done. They generally looked in India to anything like a Pasteur Institute being started by the Government, but in this case the Government did not at first take up the idea with any vigour. There was still only one Pasteur Institute in India, and that was at Kasauli, on the way to Simla. It owed its origin largely to the exertions of Mr. E. Kay Robinson, of Lahore, who pointed out to the Government that they were already spending more on sending British soldiers and officers to Pasteur's Institute in Paris than an institute in India would cost to keep up. There was great opposition to Mr. Robinson's proposals; the anti-vivisectionists were strongly against him, and there was even an attempt to show that, in some insidious way, he was aiming a blow at the Hindoo religion. There was the usual difficulty about funds, which was eventually solved, largely by subscriptions from Indians and from the municipalities of Lahore and Amritsar. The Pasteur Institute at Kasauli was in working order as a private institution about 1893, but it only became a Government institution in 1901. From the last report it appeared that during the year ending August 8 last 612 persons were treated, and in only five cases did the treatment fail to afford protection. In three other cases, before the treatment was complete, symptoms of hydrophobia developed, and, of course, nothing more could

be done. In two or three other cases the symptoms of hydrophobia were developed more than fourteen days after the treatment was complete. However, that would be a very small percentage—under 1 per cent.—of failure. As for there being only one case in a million, 612 cases made two in a million, anyhow, and only a very small proportion of the people who were bitten by mad dogs ever got to Kasauli.

DR. HAUGHTON: I was not speaking of India.

MR. LORAINÉ PETRE said that of those 612 who were treated, 248 were Europeans, and 94 were employes of the Government or soldiers. Only the remaining 270 were natives of India and private persons. If the Pasteur treatment was the right one, it was evident that only a very small proportion of the people requiring it could possibly go to Kasauli. More institutions of the same sort were wanted in other parts of India, and funds were wanted to enable the people to go there. The poor man who was bitten, unless he happened to have a friend to help him on a journey of, perhaps, a week, if he lived in the South of India, was quite out of it, and had no chance of getting to Kasauli.

MR. DONALD REID remarked that nothing had been said about acetic acid as a cure for hydrophobia. In his letter-book for 1892 he had pasted a cutting from the *Pioneer*, a letter from the Rev. H. Lorbeer, of Ghazipur, who had treated several natives with vinegar for hydrophobia. The letter was very interesting. It was called "A Remedy for Hydrophobia," and was as follows: "SIR,—I read 'Consul's' letter in yesterday's *Pioneer* with regard to some institute in India on Pasteur's system, and as I have frequently been asked for advice in the treatment of bites by mad dogs, I wish to give to the public the benefit of my experience during the last fifteen years. As soon as possible after the bite, wash the wound well with English vinegar (malt vinegar) or with caustic. Give to the person bitten, internally by the mouth, two times daily, malt vinegar to drink ( $\frac{1}{4}$  ounce vinegar to 1 ounce water); continue to do so daily for two weeks, and the patient will be out of danger. I have saved many lives by this simple treatment, but have not tried it in cases where symptoms of hydrophobia were already visible; but in such cases also the Pasteur system seems to fail. Among the patients cured by vinegar were four persons bitten in one night by a mad jackal; all recovered! One boy was fearfully bitten by a mad dog. After fifteen days' treatment with vinegar he was cured. All the other people bitten by the same mad dog, and not treated with vinegar, died of hydrophobia. Years ago German doctors advised diluted hydrochloric acid for hydrophobia, which, however, I have not tried." Vinegar had been recommended for the plague. In Defoe's "Journal of the Plague Year" it is related how one of the attendants in London and his wife were daily engaged in removing the plague dead, and as a preservative against infection his wife's remedy was washing her head with vinegar, and sprinkling her clothes so with vinegar as to make them moist; and if a smell was more than ordinarily offensive, she spilt vinegar upon her hands and sprinkled her clothes with it, and held a handkerchief wetted with vinegar to her mouth. That was Defoe's account of the way in which vinegar acted as a prophylactic. He had consulted doctors on

the subject, who rather pooh-poohed the idea ; but, still, he thought the idea was worth considering.

MR. W. MARTIN WOOD said the paper was disappointing, because the lecturer had taken up the long-discredited Pasteur fallacy. There was one point he noticed in the paper—that Pasteur's treatment did not pretend to be curative, but only preventive. He was sorry to disparage the paper, because Mr. Skrine was a man of considerable literary ability ; but he did not seem to have read up the subject, having regard to his remarks on the Buisson treatment, which had been proved by hundreds of practitioners to be successful. He had instances of scores of cases in India and on the Continent, where the most pronounced cases had been entirely cured. The reason the Buisson remedy was so little known in India was because, owing to this fad taking hold of the rising generation of medical men, the method had been thoroughly boycotted. But it had been demonstrated that there was a cure for rabies, and that cure was the sudorific cure.

MR. S. S. THORBURN said he was merely a searcher after knowledge (*tālib-ul-ilm*). What had struck him as an omission in Mr. Skrine's rather discursive but amusing and interesting lecture might perhaps be supplied by some man of science present. Mr. Skrine began by saying that even in cases of being bitten by a mad dog, in only 10 per cent. of those cases does the virus operate. If so, how was one to know that he had been bitten by a mad dog? Even the Pasteur treatment itself was not successful in probably more than 90 per cent. of its cases! Thus, Pasteur or no Pasteur, 90 per cent. of persons bitten by undoubtedly mad dogs would recover, because the virus only operated in 10 per cent. of the cases. In 1880 he was not only bitten but worried by a dog declared by the whole station to be rabid. He was lying on his back till the police came with fixed bayonets and released him from that dog. Had the Pasteur Institute then existed, he would have gone there, and his immunity from hydrophobia would have been a triumph for Pasteur. In spite of doubts of the efficacy of the treatment, in spite of the fact that the rabies virus had not yet been isolated, he believed every person in that room, even Mr. Martin Wood himself, if bitten by a mad dog, would submit himself to the Pasteur treatment.

MR. H. CROUCH BATCHELOR said he did not pretend to any technical knowledge of the subject, but he heard with the greatest regret Mr. Skrine branching off suddenly at the end of his lecture into a defence of those abominable practices upon helpless animals : he had drawn vivisection into the discussion. The remark made by the last speaker was the most effective that had been made that night ; if that gentleman had only gone through the Pasteur treatment the triumph of his cure would have rung throughout Europe. How was one to prove that the people who went to the Pasteur Institute had been cured by the treatment? They subjected themselves to these disgusting toxins made by this empirical process, the mere description of which was enough to sicken anybody, and which was an utterly inexact process. On the one side it might be said that the man was put through the process and was saved by it ; on the other hand, it could be said that he was put through the process and was not poisoned

by it. It came back to the question : Are you justified in doing a moral wrong for the sake of a material benefit? Put in that naked way, he believed that no reasonable human being who felt that he had a soul, and who was influenced by anything higher than mere animalism, would say one had any right to do a moral wrong to secure a material benefit. He was delighted to hear there was a difficulty about the funds. He felt it a great privilege to come there that night, if only to hear Dr. Haughton. In these questions between medical technologists one man said one thing and another the contrary. There was Sir William Fergusson on the one side and Sir Victor Horsley on the other, and they destroyed each other. There is, therefore, nothing left to guide us but the moral question, and the moral question was paramount and pre-eminent. Mr. Skrine had said that in some cases people bitten by animals, subsequently proved not to have been mad, had actually frightened themselves into hydrophobia, while others of a calmer disposition, in more suspicious cases, had escaped it. That proved that the psychological factor was of paramount importance. The animal had not a psychological factor, though in India it was held that animals had a future state, and therefore these practices there would be a kind of murder. Human beings very often worried themselves into disease, and actual disease had often been got over by an effort of will, allowing Nature's recuperative process to effect a cure. That psychological factor was a reason why one could not appeal to vivisection. These abominable and diabolical practices were utterly to be condemned, taking advantage of defenceless animals, who had their one life to live, and using them for our own purposes, while we boasted we were immortal creatures, for whom a longer or shorter stay on this earth was of the smallest consequence. It was not in accordance with our moral sense of right to indulge in any such practices, and, thank God! such practices could not be proved to be even materially successful, so that for the coward who would not die like a gentleman, the man who would clutch at anything to prolong his physical existence, there was no promise of success, and he thanked God it was so.

DR. HAUGHTON remarked that none of the police had been affected whose business it was to collect all the stray, defenceless, and presumably ill-treated dogs, and who had collected vast numbers of them.

MR. MARTIN WOOD wished to make one remark with regard to what Mr. Petre had said as to how the funds were to be obtained. The funds for that purpose were provided by a public-spirited American citizen, Mr. Phillips, who gave £20,000 into Lord Curzon's hands to be devoted to the benefit of the people of India, and Lord Curzon, being, he supposed, like Mr. Skrine, in the interests of the medical men, gave it to this Institute.

MR. LEONARD MAGNUS said that, as a person knowing nothing whatsoever of the subject, he would like to make two or three remarks on the moral question. There were people who did not consider it was essentially an evil action if for a great good we had to inflict a temporary harm. If they could obtain world-wide results at a very small cost, then that scheme was perfectly sound from a purely ethical point of view.

COLONEL STEWART, C.I.E., of Ardvorlich, remarked that he was the father of the young officer bitten by the mad dog in India to whom Mr. Skrine had referred in his very interesting lecture. He was happy to say he was not an anti-vivisection faddist, and recourse to Pasteur might or might not have saved his son. But no one could doubt the *moral* benefit derived by sufferers from dog-bite who were subsequently inoculated against rabies. They were preserved from agonizing suspense; and belief in a cure was always a moral, and often a physical, victory.

MR. F. H. SKRINE, in reply, said he was sorry the discussion had wandered away from the lines of logic and taken an excursion into the realm of declamation. Oil and water were allied compared with anti-vivisectionists and those who agreed that vivisection was defensible with proper precautions. Dr. Haughton began the debate by mentioning the effect of Dr. Buisson's bath, and asking whether he (Mr. Skrine) knew of any failures. He had heard of at least a dozen, and had never known an indubitable success. Dr. Buisson's disciples resembled doctors: their failures were buried. The causes of the frequent failure of the Buisson treatment was that the sudorific process was so severe and so prolonged that the patient sank under it from sheer exhaustion. When a man was bitten by a mad dog he required tonics and good, nourishing food. He was not a medical man, though he had studied medicine, and he was rather astonished to hear what Dr. Haughton said about tetanus. He was under the strong impression that tetanus had been practically brought under control by inoculation, and that the deaths from tetanus now were a mere fraction of what they used to be. When he was a boy, an old boatswain, who had served on board the *Victory* at Trafalgar, told him of the sufferings of the wounded sailors from tetanus, which was then, and long afterwards, considered incurable. He had listened with great interest to Mr. Petre's account of the working of the Kasauli Institution, of whose history he was not aware. He was sorry to hear that Government had not fulfilled its promise to aid the movement from public funds to the extent it had engaged to do, and he ventured to hope that these proceedings would help to bring the authorities to a sense of their duty. There were some very interesting remarks regarding vinegar; but no one who knew anything about hydrophobia could believe that a disease of such a deep-seated organ as the spinal cord could be conquered by such an agent as vinegar. At the same time there was a good deal in what the speaker said regarding its disinfectant properties. Recurring to Trafalgar again, he had seen an autograph letter from Nelson, in which he gave orders regarding the treatment of an extraordinary disease like spotted typhus, which broke out in the fleet owing to the abominable want of ventilation in the ships in those days. Nelson directed that vinegar should be placed in tubs and stirred with a red-hot poker between decks, and the effect was to banish the disease from all the ships of the squadron. Mr. Martin Wood had suggested that he (Mr. Skrine) had not studied the subject. That was a remark he had heard from Mr. Martin Wood before, and it was an easy charge to bring because it was so very difficult to disprove. As a matter of fact, he had given a very great deal of time to the question.

The monograph he had got from Dr. Lukis was an extremely valuable contribution to medical science, and he thought that fact would be held to justify the lecture when it was published. Then there was his old friend and enemy, Mr. Crouch Batchelor, with whom he had had many a tussle in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the Russian affairs. He wished that a Royal Commission could be appointed to thresh out this question in all its bearings, because it was really not a question for extreme virulence of opinion and expression, such as many anti-vivisectionists indulged in. It had been said that ferocious teetotalers were pillars of the public-house and gin-shop, because their vituperation was so excessive that the publican gained the sympathy of many who did not go deeply into the subject. So with regard to anti-vivisectionists. People devoured luncheons of beef-steaks, and having assimilated a mass of animal matter, which had been prepared for their absorption by vivisection, they went into hysterics about the sufferings of guinea-pigs and rabbits, forgetting what human misery there was in the world. The extreme anti-vivisectionists did a great deal of harm to a good cause. He himself was a moderate anti-vivisectionist, and he did not want to see dogs vivisected under any circumstances. But let them be more moderate, and give their adversaries credit for thinking as honestly as they themselves did. Mr. Thorburn asked how it was possible to find out whether a dog was mad or not. It was practically impossible to diagnose. In a great many cases in which dog-bites were inflicted the dog had some, but not all, the symptoms of rabies, which in its early stages might well be mistaken for distemper. But there was no mistaking hydrophobia when it once made its appearance, for the symptoms were not akin to those of any other disease. One of the most marked was the dropping of the tail. He knew an Anglo-Indian who went so far as to shoot every dog he saw dropping his tail; but this was going a little too far. Another symptom was a prolonged howl, ending in a wail which was the reverse of canine. In conclusion, he thanked his hearers for their courteous attention.

The CHAIRMAN, in moving a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Skrine for his very able and interesting lecture, thought the lecturer must be very much pleased with the result. Although everyone had not agreed with him, yet at the same time it had been a very interesting discussion. Really, the whole object of the paper was to create some discussion and some interest, and he was sure Mr. Skrine had been successful in doing that. He asked the meeting to convey a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Skrine in the usual way by acclamation.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

MR. DURANT BEIGHTON said that in the regrettable absence of Sir Lepel Griffin, the pleasant duty devolved upon him of moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding. He would not say anything about the paper, except that it showed the versatility of his friend Mr. Skrine. He ventured to observe that the Chairman, in declining to commit himself to any observations on the very technical subject of the paper, had shown a modesty which many of those present might well envy, because almost everyone who had spoken, except the distinguished doctor, had prefaced

his remarks by confessing that he knew absolutely nothing about the matter. (Laughter.) With regard to the doctor's observations, he was sorry there was no other professional man present. Had there been any other experts, they would no doubt have had an illustration of that variety of opinion for which they were celebrated. For his own part he had imitated the Chairman, and had kept silence about a subject he had not studied. He had been glad to see his friend Mr. Batchelor present, and from what he knew of the vigour of his speeches in the political field, was not surprised to find the animation he threw into the discussion by dragging in, as it were by the horns, a highly contentious matter, which, he ventured to think, had not much to do with the subject of Mr. Skrine's paper. He was rather amused at the vinegar remedy suggested by one of the speakers, and rather wondered that this was not accompanied by some other of the remedies prescribed by the practitioners of Defoe's time during the Great Plague. The means by which Pasteur worked might not commend themselves to everyone, but he would like to associate himself with the view expressed by the gentleman who had been treated at that institute—that anyone who had any doubt or fear that he was liable to hydrophobia would resort to the only place where any scientific prophylactic treatment of the disease was to be found.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN, in thanking the meeting for their vote of thanks, said it had been a great pleasure, as well as, he thought, a great honour, to be asked to preside at that meeting of the East India Association, and he did so with the greatest pleasure, because he never forgot that for four generations his family had been so closely connected with that great organization.

The proceedings then terminated.

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The following has been received :

DEAR SIR,

As one who was present at the meeting at Caxton Hall on the 8th inst., and heard the able and interesting paper on "Hydrophobia," may I crave a little space in your journal to express my views in the matter? Having had some experience in the hydropathic method of treatment, I was sorry to hear the opinion expressed that vapour baths had not met with that complete success in the treatment of hydrophobia which many of us have always understood to be the case, and, further, that this method was found to be enervating to the patient.

In the first place, I would like to say that it would be extremely interesting to see the results of a series of cases of hydrophobia treated by the Buisson system compared with the results of a similar number which had been under Pasteurism. To assert loosely that any one system of treatment has been found wanting is not evidence of any scientific value—in fact, it is no evidence at all. I personally venture to say that the vapour bath, given carefully and scientifically, and combined with special diet, would prove to be of immense value in the terrible disease under consideration. With regard to the accompanying enervation which was mentioned, this is often due to the fact that the bath is constructed, as a rule, upon incorrect (phy-

siologically speaking) principles. It should be made for the reclining posture, or at all events for the semireclining one; this would, I think, prevent any unpleasant after effect. And, after all, one had better let the patient lose his strength—if that is necessary—than his life. Had I been able to speak at the meeting—which a visit just before to the dentist prevented me from doing—I should have reminded those present that there was, however, a method which, in my opinion, is an improvement upon both Pasteurism and the so-called Buisson treatment—that is, the light bath. I have never, it is true, heard of it being advocated for hydrophobia, but feel convinced it would be highly useful. Much personal experience in the employment of the electric-light bath has convinced me of its powers to throw off deleterious particles and organisms from the system; for instance, the poison of gout, rheumatism, etc. In the case of hydrophobia, a reclining one should be used, and a prolonged rest after the bath be insisted upon. It would, in my estimation, be an improvement on the vapour bath, for two reasons especially—viz., (1) there is the stimulating influence of the powerful light itself, causing change of tissue; (2) we can judge of the amount of perspiration going on so much better than in the case of the vapour bath, where it is difficult to estimate it, owing to the moisture on the skin deposited from the steam.

Fortunately there is not much opportunity to try my suggestion in this country, but unfortunately in India and elsewhere hydrophobia is still not very uncommon, and I would beg those in authority to introduce the system and give it a fair trial.

Acting upon my suggestions in the *Lancet*, several of the London hospitals have now installed light baths, and with much benefit in many diseases where effete by-products have to be carried off from the system before improvement can take place.

It has always seemed to me that the adoption of Pasteurism is taking a step in a backward direction, besides being a very crude way of meeting disease. A hundred years or so ago people were advised when ill to take pieces of the various organs of animals. Are we, in this age of advance, to go back to what is practically the same thing? Would it not be more consonant with our present-day enlightenment to search for remedies amongst more refined forces, such as light, heat, electricity, etc.?

It is my confirmed opinion that in a few years Pasteurism will meet the same fate as did Koch's tuberculin, and be heard of no more. This may seem a bold kind of prophecy, but we are surely nearing the time when we shall trust to entirely *natural*, and not artificial, remedies in our combat with disease.

One more point: Hydrophobia, in the case of the Indian native, is often the product of fear. With this in view I would, as one who has had experience in "suggestion treatment," strenuously urge that all those attendant on any who have been bitten by a rabid dog should exercise to the utmost power their *mental* influence over the patient, calming and soothing his mind as much as possible. Indeed, I would go so far as to use hypnotism, or the so-called "suggestion" treatment, though we need not necessarily trust to this agent alone. I have seen in my own practice so much good done with nervous people by the latter method that I would strongly urge its adoption in those pitiful cases of hydrophobia.

J. STENSON HOOKER, M.D.



## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## THE PLACE OF INDIA UNDER PROTECTION.

SIR,

According to your report of the Proceedings of the East India Association on January 30 last, in the discussion which followed Mr. Thorburn's paper, Mr. Francis Skrine said :\*

"Now, everyone was agreed as to the duty of India's rulers to relieve an overtasked soil by promoting manufactures. The lower classes were admirably adapted to the factory system, and if India had been given fair play, she would long since have been self-supporting in the supply of all necessities of life. What were the facts? Cotton goods accounted for more than a third of her imports. In 1903-1904 she sent us £1,600,000 worth of raw cotton, and bought from us nearly £20,000,000 worth of piece-goods. Did such a state of things commend itself to common-sense?"

In the same number of the *Review* in which the above appears (April 20), Mr. R. E. Forrest has an interesting article† on the Maharaja of Burdwan's "little book," and I would commend it to Mr. Skrine's attention—*i.e.*, pp. 285, 286. I will not quote at length here, but the following remarks (by Mr. Forrest) are significant :

"But of the added wealth (of India), the increased purchasing power, there is no doubt."

And again :

"The same improvement in the dress of the people displayed itself to one's own eyes in Northern India. . . ."

The following remark, culled from the same article, is also, I think, a direct contradiction not only to Mr. Skrine, but to Mr. J. B. Pennington, whose letter appears on p. 407 of the *Review* (April, 1905). Mr. Forrest says :

"The people have purchased cotton and woollen goods from England in ever-increasing quantities *because they needed them and could pay for them.*"

The italics are mine. Anybody who knows anything of the details of the piece-goods trade with India, what

\* Pp. 403, 404

† See pp. 279-287.

qualities, kinds, and styles of cloths are bought by India, what uses they are put to, who the buyers are, will, without hesitation, endorse Mr. Forrest's statement: "The goods are bought because they are a necessity."

I am afraid it is impossible to agree with Mr. Pennington's statement\* that: "Lancashire cotton (*sic*) is not a necessary of life to the people of India."

"But, on the contrary, the home-made cotton goods, even if somewhat dearer in money-price, and not quite so well finished, are probably more durable, and therefore cheaper in the end."

It all depends what Mr. Pennington considers a necessity of life. Is a silk hat, or white, stiff-fronted shirt a necessary of life in England? or is a black tie or a red scarf a necessity? And yet they are worn.

Mr. Pennington goes on to say that

"there is actually a movement on foot for encouraging the use of home-made goods of all kinds, and boycotting Lancashire cottons, which may yet come to something; but it requires some assistance from the tariff."

The only movement on foot that I am aware of is that which has been going on for some time—viz., the determination of the retail buyer to pay as little as he can! And as such cloth as Indian mills can turn out *is* considerably cheaper than English-made cloths of the same quality, the said retail buyer suits, and always will suit, his requirements in that particular style and quality from the Indian-made stuffs. The only cloth that India makes at present for the native market (as apart from what some mills turn out for Government and army requirements) is in the "gray" or unbleached state (vernac., *korá kuprá*), and I might say that in this line during the last six or seven years the production of the mills on the Bombay side, Nagpur, etc., has seriously interfered with what used to be a large trade for Manchester gray cloths in Delhi and other Northern India markets.

If in dyeing, printing, bleaching and finishing, England has held, and still holds, her own against all the countries of

\* Pp. 407, 408.

the Western Hemisphere, it is easy to understand why and how Indian-made piece-goods, except in one or two small and special lines, are quite unable to compete with the manufactures of Lancashire and Glasgow. The matter for surprise is that she has done so well, and it speaks volumes for the enterprise and energy, not only of the English merchants in India, but also the ambition and astuteness of the Bhatiyas, Khojas, Marwaris, and Parsees, who own and manage the bulk of, and the best and most up-to-date of, the cotton-spinning and weaving mills in India.

It must be borne in mind that the highest count of yarns at present spun in India is 40's, and this can only be done with the best Hinghanghat cotton, and in very limited quantities, be it remembered; most parts of India, owing to climatic conditions, being quite unsuitable to the spinning of fine yarns.

With Egyptian and American cotton, doubtless, finer yarn might be spun; but is it likely that Indian mills could buy American cotton or yarn cheap enough to successfully compete against Lancashire?

The bulk of the white (or bleached) goods imported by India is made of "American cotton" yarns.

I cannot restrain from quoting the following from the *Pioneer Mail* of March 31, commenting on a lecture recently given in Madras by Mr. Alfred Chatterton, head of the Madras School of Arts, on the possibilities of chrome tannery of leather as a profitable industry in India. The *Pioneer* thinks "there is grave doubt" whether

"native capital will be attracted by the scheme. Mr. Chatterton, in his lecture, points out that even after the aluminium industry, originated by the School of Arts, had been proved a financial success, native capital fought shy of it, and the company was floated mainly by the subscriptions of Europeans. . . . Here was an industry initiated and fostered by Government, and carried to an assured success. . . . Yet, even then, among the most advanced public in India, the conservatism of the native prevented the purpose of Government being achieved, and naturally the profits of the industry go to those who had the enterprise to embark upon it. The co-operative principle is a plant of slow growth in the Indian mind, but in time this Western method of business will make progress, and

participation in joint stock enterprises will appeal to the native as the natural and profitable method of utilizing his capital. When that happens, India's progress towards commercial and industrial prosperity will be more rapid."

Mr. Chatterton's object was undoubtedly to get at the educated and congress-wallah type of Indian, and in this connection, I might mention it as a curious fact that, with some notable exceptions, mostly Parsis, the majority of native-managed mills are owned—or if joint stock, the predominating shares are held—by natives who, I suppose, the average official in India or English-speaking baboo would call "illiterate," having, if anything, only a smattering of English. In the Punjab and United Provinces, for instance, of the numerous cotton-ginning factories, I should say something like 90 per cent. (if not more) of the owners are natives of this class—*e.g.*, Marwaris. Of the ten or twelve cotton mills in the Punjab, not one is managed or owned by Europeans, the largest shareholders or owners, with hardly an exception, being men who have themselves, or their fathers before them, made their "fortunes" in the import of English piece-goods trade. This, I believe, is largely the case also with Bombay cotton mills. The Marwari and the Bhátia on the Calcutta and Bombay side respectively have practically the whole of the piece-goods trade of Upper and Northern India in their hands, and it is to the enterprise of these two trading classes that we are indebted principally for the starting of factories, etc., in the Mofussils.

Without the aid and influence of just such a Marwari piece-goods trader, some of the largest industrial concerns in India would perhaps never have been started or run as successfully as they have been. The predominating control of one, at least, of the biggest cotton mills in Cawnpore is again with the successful Marwari piece-goods trader and banker.

I am, etc.,

W. KIRKPATRICK.

London, *April*, 1904.

## THE LAND REVENUE SYSTEM OF MADRAS.

SIR,

There is so much misapprehension amongst writers on Indian topics as to the real principles of the ryotwari system and the practice of the administration of the land in Madras that I gladly avail myself of this opportunity of describing what those principles, in my opinion, really are, and how they work in practice ; and as he is one of the latest critics, I shall take the liberty of referring pretty freely to General Fischer's article on " Indian Revenue and Land Systems," published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1903. But I shall say very little as to his strictures on the Government of India for their neglect of roads and irrigation works, though I think I could show that his criticism on both points is far from justifiable, and that the facts are not nearly so discreditable as he makes out ; though, at the same time, I quite admit that a great deal more might have been done for communications and irrigation, and that they have been unwisely neglected in favour of railways which are, in my opinion, like the rest of our Government, probably too expensive for the country.

It is scarcely possible to say anything about the land revenue of India and its administration which will not be challenged by someone. I can only state my own views for what they are worth, and must premise that they apply mainly to Madras. But I think it can hardly be doubted that, according to the common law of India from time immemorial, the State has always been considered to be entitled to an actual share of the produce of the soil, and has, therefore, a "property" in the land. Then "whatever does not belong to the State belongs to the ryot," as Sir Thomas Munro says ; so that the ryot is also a true proprietor, having as his "property in the soil" *whatever the State leaves him*. What that share ought in justice to be is the great problem of Indian Administration. It has varied from a mere subsistence under the worst administrations to

what is practically ownership in fee simple. As Mr. Dutt in his paper on the "Peasant Proprietors of India"\* very justly observed, "however much we may differ in our opinions," (as to the nature of land taxation in India), "there is not one amongst us who is not anxious to secure for the population of India a position of security and comfort and contentment." But, at the same time, the Government of India *must have its revenue*, and some men, as General Fischer says, are more anxious that the Government should get its share than that the ryots should be prosperous. The better class of officials, on the contrary, are firmly persuaded of the wisdom of the Queen's words in the much-discussed proclamation of 1858, and believe with Her Majesty that "in the prosperity of the inhabitants will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward." It was with such views as these that three Madras civilians† (one, alas! already dead) joined Mr. Dutt in drawing up what they hoped might be a sort of Magna Charta for the ryotwari districts everywhere, and, as he says, we were fairly successful to a certain extent; but when it came to providing definite safeguards against over-assessment, the Government of India (like a great many other people) unfortunately misunderstood our suggestions. and we failed in our attempt, though we succeeded in eliciting a useful and, on the whole, very generous resolution on the subject. We had no difficulty in accepting the generally-recognised rule that the State demand should be limited to half the actual rental, or, in other words, half the economic rent, though Mr. Dutt objected that 50 per cent. of the net income from cultivation is a higher land-tax than is known in any civilized country. When, however, it is considered that this "land-tax" in a ryotwari district is supposed to include the landlord's rent, I doubt if it is at all excessive in theory—always provided that the expenses of cultivation are calculated in

\* Published in the same number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

† R. K. Puckle, C.I.E., J. H. Garstin, C.S.I., and the undersigned.

practice on a liberal scale, as we expressly provided they should be ; and, as an almost perfect safeguard, we added that this "50 per cent. of the net" should not *ordinarily* exceed *one-fifth of the gross produce*. If after an assessment had been made on these lines any ryot should consider himself over-assessed, and could have an appeal to some fairly unprejudiced authority—probably the collector of the district would really be the best—he would have nothing to complain of.

General Fischer, however, charges the revenue authorities with (still) following "the old Indian custom of extracting all we possibly can from the people and leaving their industries to starve," though he must surely know that for the last fifty years the general tendency in Madras has been to reduce the assessments very largely from the old native figures, and to leave the ryot the full benefit of his own improvements. Of late years, indeed, there has, no doubt, been a tendency to enhance taxation again, (though this is not apparently what General Fischer meant,) but that is generally because extraordinary reductions were made during the first settlement of many districts, and immense improvements have been effected in the meantime (*pace* General Fischer) in the roads and other means of communication. In proof of this last statement, I might just mention that when I went to Tinnevely in 1866, with the exception of the cotton road to Tuticorin, which was of the most bone-shaking description, there was *no made road in the district* except in the immediate neighbourhood of the stations where Europeans congregated ; whereas when I left in 1883 I was able to report that there was "no village more than ten miles from a fairly good *metalled* road (not always bridged throughout), or more than fifty miles from the railway. To say, as General Fischer does, that minor roads have been "*entirely neglected*," and that "in India no such thing as a good road has ever existed," seems to prove that he knows very little of the progress that has been made everywhere in the last forty years ; but

he surely must know that there were practically no real roads at all in the pre-British days. No doubt far more might have been done, and I have always regretted that Sir Arthur Cotton was not allowed a free hand to introduce canal navigation all over the South of India in preference to railways. However many mistakes he might have made, he would probably not have spent half what was spent on our extravagantly-equipped railways, and we should have had a system of cheap transport far better suited to a poor country.

Interesting as his paper is, General Fischer makes other mistakes which are even more surprising, so that his criticism requires to be taken with a good deal of salt. For instance, he quotes the Viceroy as saying that it is impossible to find water enough in the whole of India for more than 20 million acres of land, whereas we have over 44 millions, or more than a fifth of the cultivated area, actually under irrigation at the present time, *exclusive* of well cultivation. Probably he means more than 20 millions of land under *State irrigation works*; but, as he puts it, his remark is very misleading, though he is probably right enough in ridiculing the idea that no more than 3 million acres are still available for irrigation.

In conclusion, I will just refer to the alterations he proposes for improving the system of collecting the land revenue, and, to make sure I do not misrepresent him, I will quote his own words: "Let the cultivator," he says, "have the land on a fixed tenure by paying a proportion of the annual yield to the Government or the landlord—say, one-fifth, according to Joseph's law in Egypt." In that case, of course, there would be no arrears; but how are the revenue officials to find out the exact yield of every field every year? General Fischer should study the Amáni\* system as described by Sir A. Seshia Shastri. He imagines that we maintain an army of revenue officials to prevent the ryot from cheating us; but if he understood the present

\* The system under which the crop is *actually divided*.



system at all he would see that there is no ground for such an idea. On the other hand, no conceivable army of officials would suffice to carry out his system, and those very officials would cheat both the Government and the ryot with equal impartiality. To say that "the ryot *knows* he can make nothing for himself by any improvement, because he has no idea how much will be demanded of him under pretence of making revenue for the Government," shows quite phenomenal ignorance of the facts as regards the methods of revenue administration of the present day. Every ryot nowadays knows quite well that every anna he has to pay is entered in his putta,\* and he is generally quite shrewd enough to see that the village accountant does not cheat him by false entries. As clearly shown by the Government of India, to collect 20 *per cent. of the gross produce every year* would probably double the burden on the ryot, except in famine years, when he would neither pay anything nor get anything; and in famine years the rules already provide for the remission of the full assessment, at any rate on irrigated land.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

P.S.—Since writing the above I have had the very great advantage of reading Mr. Dutt's most illuminating work "India in the Victorian Age," and I must confess that he seems to prove that the baneful practice of over-assessment has gone further of late years than I had imagined. It would also appear that Baroda has solved the difficult problem of collecting the revenue in kind without running the risk of doing more harm than good, and we shall all look forward with sympathetic interest to the result of Mr. Dutt's administration of that very advanced, and, I hope, thriving State. It ought, indeed, to be an object-lesson to the Government of India.

J. P.

April 5, 1905.

\* Bill for assessment due.

NOTE ON THE ARTICLE "THE FOUNDATION OF  
PENANG" IN THE REVIEW FOR JANUARY LAST,

Pp. 112-123.

The verses to "Nona" (p. 121) were addressed to an English lady, Olivia Mariamne, the wife of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Stamford Raffles. I have just seen a copy of the verses in Leyden's own handwriting, dated Penang, 1805, and with the superscription "Olivia M. Raffles." Nona, or Nonyeh, as Mr. Steuart tells us, means "lady" in Malay, and it is evident that Leyden adopted the term because Mrs. Raffles was then living in Penang. Both she and her husband were great friends of Leyden's, and after Leyden's death Sir Stamford wrote a very feeling letter on the subject, in which he also spoke of the death of his wife—the Olivia of the poem. Though the verses are addressed to a lady, they are not descriptive of her, but of a tropical Christmas, and the first two lines are sufficient to show that they are addressed to a sojourner in a strange land :

"Dear Nona, Christmas comes from far  
To seek us near the Eastern star."

In the third line of the second stanza "such" should be "each," and the lines should run :

"Though hailed in each Malayan grove  
The saffron-tinted flower of love,  
Of none more loved amid the fair,  
Her tulip-buds adorn the hair."

For "heart extending" in the third stanza, read "heart expanding." Leyden was thinking of the Persian *dilkhusha*. That the verses could not have been addressed to Martinha Rozell seems clear from the fact that she was married in 1772 and widowed in 1794, and that Leyden did not come to Penang till 1805.

H. B.

P.S.—I am indebted to my brother for the following additional information about Mrs. Raffles. He obtained it from the life of Sir Stamford Raffles by Demetrius C. Boulger, and from other sources.

Mrs. Raffles' maiden name was Olivia Mariamne Devenish, and apparently her father was an Irishman. She married Mr. Fancourt, an assistant-surgeon on the Madras establishment. He died in 1800, and his widow came home. In March, 1805, she was married to Mr. Raffles at St. George's, Bloomsbury. She accompanied him to the East, and died at Batavia in Java, in November, 1814. In 1817 Sir Stamford Raffles married his second wife, Sophia, the daughter of Mr. Hull. Mrs. Raffles (Olivia) is described as being tall and distinguished looking, and possessed of flashing, black Italian eyes. Her remains lie near Leyden's in the old Dutch cemetery at Tanabarrg.

H. B.

We shall repeat the whole of this beautiful poem with the emendations of our correspondent.

"Dear Nona, Christmas comes from far  
To seek *us* near the Eastern star,  
But wears not in this Orient clime  
Her wintry wreaths and ancient thyme.  
What flowerets must we strew to thee  
For glossy bay or rosemary?

"Champaca flowers for thee we strew  
To drink the merry Christmas dew.  
Though hailed in each Malayan grove  
The saffron-tinted flower of love,  
Of none more loved amid the fair,  
Her tulip-buds adorn the hair.

"Banana leaves their ample screen  
Shall spread to match the holly green;  
Well may their glossy softness please,  
Sweet emblem of the soul at ease,  
The heart expanding frank and free  
Like the still green banana-tree.

"Nona, may all the woodland powers  
That stud Malaya's clime with flowers,  
Or on the breeze their fragrance fling,  
Around thee form a fairy ring  
To guard thee, ever gay and free,  
Beneath thy green banana-tree."

## STATE OF KELANTAN, SIAM.

A FEW years ago this State was made a bone of contention between the Singapore Government and the Siamese, and was eventually consigned, on conditions, to the Siamese. By an agreement made in London between Siam and Kelantan, it was arranged that an Englishman should be appointed to represent the King of Siam, and to advise and direct the Government of the State ; Siam, at the same time, undertaking not to interfere in any way with the administration, so long as the advice of the English Resident in Siam is followed. In virtue of this arrangement, Mr. W. A. Graham was appointed "H.S.M.'s Resident and Adviser." Mr. Graham has submitted his first report, which contains full and interesting information with regard to the social condition of the State, when he entered upon his office, and the success which has resulted in the discharge of his arduous duties. We shall present to our readers a short account of this important Report\* for the year from August, 1903, to August, 1904.

The State of Kelantan lies on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula five degrees north of the Equator. It is watered by the river Kelantan and its tributaries, the watershed of which river-system roughly forms the boundary of the State. The northern districts comprise one of the few extensive plains in the Peninsula, the land rising towards the south, until at the boundary it becomes a lofty range of densely wooded mountains. The State is bounded on the north by the sea, on the west by the Siamese States of Sai, Leggeh, and Raman, and by the British State of Perak ; on the south by the British State of Pahang, and on the east by the Siamese State of Tringganu. The climate of the State is mild and slightly damp. The daily temperature ranges for the greater part of the year between 70° and 87°, falling in January or February to 65°. There is no really dry season, as showers occur throughout the year,

\* Report addressed to His Royal Highness Krom Luang Damrong Rachanubap, Minister for the Interior, Siam.

increasing in November to an almost continual downpour, which lasts into January, and causes heavy floods. The soil is light, porous, and exceedingly fertile. No accurate census of the population has ever been taken, but it is estimated at from 250,000 to 300,000. The people are chiefly Malays, but there are many Siamese in the maritime districts, and Chinese in all the larger villages. The Siamese dress in Malay costumes and speak Malay as a second language. The general health of the people is good. Though the country is subject to occasional epidemics, infectious and contagious diseases (with the exception of skin diseases, which are common) are usually absent. Small-pox is the most dreaded. Formerly there were no facilities for vaccination, but the Duff Development Company, Limited, is introducing this boon into its concession, and the Company's doctor, a gentleman of much enthusiasm and experience, hopes soon to persuade the peasantry to adopt it. The religion of the State is Muhammadanism. There are also Buddhists. Education is primitive. The principal industry is silk weaving. Coloured grass mats of beautiful design and texture are also made. Kopra making, fishing, and fish-salting are large industries; but the last two have lately fallen off, owing to the rise in the price of salt. The chief exports are kopra and coco-nuts, bullocks and other live stock, rice, hides, betel-nut, dried fish, rattans, gutta percha, and damar. Imports are cotton goods, dyed threads, timber, gambier, tobacco, sugar, salt, kerosene oil, and silk. Mr. Graham sums up his opinion as follows: "With a dense population, a mild and healthy climate, a fertile soil, growing commerce, and possible mineral wealth, nothing except absence of good administration can prevent Kelantan from ultimately taking her place in the front rank of the Malay States. Hitherto a weak and wretched Government, with its thousand attendant evils, has effectively checked all development of her resources; but it would seem that her ruler, aware that he is being looked to to remedy this state of affairs, is now putting forth his best

efforts to secure for his country an administration sufficient for its development in the best interests of his own people, thereby to preserve it, in fact as well as in name, a true Malay State, and to make it at the same time one of the greatest and most prosperous Dependencies of Siam."

On entering upon his very onerous duties, he found either no administration or mal-administration, corruption and nepotism in its worse forms everywhere, besides a strong prejudice against the new order of an appointment of an Englishman as His Majesty's representative and adviser. By tact and perseverance these prejudices were overcome. The organization of the Police, the Courts of Justice, and other judicial reforms were introduced and adopted, as also gaols, which were in a deplorable condition, as well as the condition of their prisoners. Public works—such as roads, postal arrangements, telegraphs, railways—were all in a state of chaos; but these are now all being placed on a proper footing. Finance, revenue, and expenditure has much improved, and every department of State affairs promises in the future great success and progress under the guidance of the present able Resident and Adviser.

#### STATISTICS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

There has been presented to the British Parliament the first number of a very valuable abstract of the population, trade, etc., of the British Empire, from which we extract the following condensed figures with respect to *Population*.

##### POPULATION, 1901.

United Kingdom ...	41,458,721	Newfoundland ...	217,037
India (1) British ...	231,899,507	Labrador ...	3,634
(2) Native States ...	62,461,549	Natal, including Zulu-	
(3) Aden ...	43,974	land ...	925,118
Self-governing Colo-		Cape of Good Hope	
nies, Australia ...	3,776,273	(Census, 1894) ...	2,405,552
New Zealand, exclu-		Basutoland ...	263,414
sive of Maoris ...	772,719	Orange River (Census,	
Dominion of Canada ...	5,371,315	1904) ...	385,045

Transvaal, including Swaziland (Census, 1904) ... ..	1,354,200	Lagos and Protectorate estimated ...	1,388,847
Straits Settlements ...	572,249	Gold Coast Colony and Protectorate ...	1,486,433
Ceylon (exclusive of military population)	3,565,954	Sierra Leone (exclusive of adjacent Protectorate) ... ..	76,655
Mauritius and dependencies ... ..	375,882	Gambia (ditto) ...	13,461
Seychelles ... ..	19,237	Bermuda (exclusive of military) ... ..	17,535
Labuan ... ..	8,411	British Honduras ...	37,479
Hong-Kong (exclusive of leased territory)	297,142	British Guiana ...	293,958
British New Guinea ...	350,000	West India Islands ..	1,583,480
Fiji ... ..	120,124	Gibraltar ... ..	20,355
Falkland Islands ...	2,043	Malta ... ..	184,742
St. Helena (exclusive of military) ...	3,342	Cyprus ... ..	237,022

Thus the total population of the British Empire is 360,646,000.

#### THE PROGRESS OF EGYPT UNDER BRITISH CONTROL.

Lord Cromer has issued for the past year an elaborate and exhaustive report on the present condition of Egypt, which has been presented to Parliament.\*

On April 8, 1904, a "declaration" was signed in London, which, *inter alia*, contains the following provisions: (1) His Britannic Majesty's Government declare that they have no intention of altering the political status of Egypt. (2) "The Government of the French Republic, for their part, declare that they will not obstruct the action of Great Britain in that country by asking that a limit of time be fixed for the British occupation or in any other matter." A similar declaration was subsequently made by the Governments of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. Thus, the Egyptian question has been settled, and has given the British Government a free hand in the control and administration of the country.

Lord Cromer, in preparing his admirable report, states that it has been his wish in giving such a lengthy report to afford

\* "Egypt, No. 1 (1905), Report by His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General on the Finances, Administration and Condition of Egypt and the Soudan."

an *educational* document, and not merely a record of facts, with the view of drawing the attention of the Egyptians—especially the rising generation, who are growing up under conditions wholly different to those which existed during the youth of their parents—in order that they may consider what lies before them as citizens of a country which is now rapidly striding towards an advanced state of civilization; also to warn them of those causes which have led to the decadence of so many Oriental States, and to adopt methods best adapted to prevent any recurrence of those causes in Egypt. There can be no doubt that a greater interest is now being taken by the Egyptians in the administration and progress of their country from the fact that Lord Cromer's reports are being translated into the vernacular, and last year no fewer than 4,300 copies were either issued gratis to the subscribers of their newspapers or sold separately. The report then refers to "the Mixed Tribunals," "the Caisse de la Dette," "the Suez Canal Convention," "the Form of Accounts and Estimates," from which it appears that in 1903 the revenue amounted to £E12,463,700, expenditure £E10,125,458; and for 1904 the revenue is £E13,906,152, and expenditure £E12,700,332. Under the new system of accounts the general reserve fund amounts to £E13,376,146, and the expenditure under this head is £E7,529,074, leaving a balance of £E5,847,072, which will be available for capital expenditure of various sorts in Egypt or the Soudan. This fund will be replenished by the surplus of 1905, and also by about £E3,000,000 from the liquidation of the Daira estates. It is therefore clear, says Lord Cromer, "that for the time being sufficient funds exist to provide for additional expenditure on railways and irrigation on a very considerable scale."

The Egyptian debt now stands as follows: on December 31, 1903, £102,186,920. The Guaranteed, Daira, and Domains debt, amounting to £911,580, was paid off during the year; thus at December 31, 1904, the debt stood at



£101,275,340. Of this amount £8,917,280 is held by the Commissioners and the Ministry of Finance, leaving £92,358,060 in the hands of the public.

Referring to the Nile navigation and the fisheries, it is encouraging to find that the boat traffic on the Nile has much increased since the lock tolls were removed in 1900. In 1903 no fewer than 35,732 boats passed through the locks, and in 1904, 41,740. Formerly the fisheries were farmed out, which led to much corruption, but in 1902 this system was abolished so as to allow anyone to fish, who wished to do so, on payment of a license for his boat. It was estimated that this reform would involve a loss of revenue of £E20,000, but in 1904 this loss was only £E11,000, while the gain to the fishing population is estimated at £E50,000.

The total estimated revenue and expenditure for 1905 is as follows: Revenue, £E12,255,000; expenditure, £E11,755,000; hence surplus £E500,000. It was decided on (March 15 last) not to raise at present the Assouan dam. There are many other subjects treated in this valuable report, but our space will not allow us to refer to them.

Lord Cromer concludes by stating that the "most friendly relations—to the establishment of which His Highness the Khedive has in no slight degree contributed—exist between the British and Egyptian portions of the Administration," and he "has little doubt that all questions of public interest, which may arise in the future, will be settled in a manner conducive to the best interests of the country. Further, the new aspect under which all questions of an international character will be treated, now that the Anglo-French Agreement has been signed, affords an additional justification for expressing a belief, that the year 1905 opens under auspices of a peculiarly favourable nature for the cause of Egyptian progress and reform."

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STATE OF THE AFRICAN PROTECTORATES ADMINISTERED  
UNDER THE FOREIGN OFFICE.\*

EAST AFRICA.

Peace has been happily uninterrupted, and steady progress is observable everywhere, but agricultural and industrial enterprises have not had time fully to develop.

A report on cotton-growing has been recently laid before the House in "Africa, No. 2, 1905." Others on agriculture, stock-raising, forestry, and veterinary studies are about to be laid.

The Committee of Inquiry sent out by the Zionists are on their way home, and their report is expected shortly.

A satisfactory solution has been found for the difficult problem connected with the Masai.

Immediately on his arrival in East Africa, Sir D. Stewart, under instructions from the Secretary of State, held a full inquiry into the subject. Meetings were convened, at which the British officials most cognisant of the question, and chiefs of the various branches of the Masai tribe, were present. The result is that, with the unanimous consent of the chiefs, special areas are to be reserved for the tribe. The northern and larger section agreed to vacate the Rift Valley, and withdraw to an area bounded approximately as follows: On the north, by the Loroghi Mountains; on the west, by the Laikipia (Ndoror) Escarpment; on the south, by the Lesuswa, or Nyam, and Guaso Narok Rivers; on the east, by Kísima.

The southern section receive an area to the south of Donyo Lamuyu (Ngongo) and the Kisearian stream, comprising within it the Donyo Lamuyu, Ndogalani, and Matapatu Mountains, and the Donyo Narok, and extending to Sosian on the west, besides other smaller areas. The locations are now being marked out. A Government station will be built in the northern reserve, where an officer, specially selected as a *persona grata* to the Masai, will reside. The tribe will remove to their new settlements as soon as the necessary preparations are completed, and the extensive pastures vacated by them will then become available for European occupation.

The progress of the Uganda Railway has justified the most sanguine predictions. As reported in "Africa, No. 16, 1904," a school has been opened in connection with it, and a recent examination by an independent inspector resulted in a very satisfactory report. The railway is now open throughout on its permanent alignment, the tunnel at mile 526 having been inspected and passed for public traffic on September 21, 1904.

There has been a great development in the traffic during the year. As will be seen by a reference to "Africa, No. 16, 1904," the actual result of working during 1903-1904 was a loss of £60,100 14s. 3d. In view of this result, but looking to the improvement which was taking place, the estimates for 1904-1905 provided for a deficit of £45,000; but a telegram received from the manager on March 21 last gives the following details: Audited

\* Memorandum presented to Parliament, March, 1905.

traffic returns up to January 31, £126,573; approximate traffic returns from February 1 to March 31, £25,901—gross earnings, £152,474. Audited working expenses up to January 31, £118,855; estimated working expenses from February 1 to March 31, £30,853—total working expenses, £149,708; profit, £2,766.

It is too early to give the detailed accounts for the year, but some idea of the increase of traffic can be obtained from the following comparison of the earnings per mile per week during the three years since the lake was reached: 1902-1903, £3 2s. 2d.; 1903-1904, £3 4s.; 1904-1905 (forty-five weeks), £4 10s. 8d.

The earnings per mile per week given above do not include the receipts from the lake steamers *Winifred* and *Sybil*. These at present amount to about £14,000 per annum, and have practically increased threefold during the year; but it must be remembered that during ten months of 1903-1904 only one vessel was in commission. In addition to their own earnings, the steamers, of course, bring traffic to the railway of considerable value. These results, and the appearance of development taking place everywhere in the lake districts, make it advisable that a third vessel should be put into the service as soon as practicable. Tenders have therefore recently been invited for a boat similar to the steamships *Winifred* and *Sybil*, but of greater cargo-carrying capacity. It is worthy of note in this connection that, notwithstanding the large cargoes carried by the steamers, the number of sailing dhows on the lake has not diminished.

The survey of the southern or German portion of the lake still continues, the work having been delayed by the illness of Commander Whitehouse, R.N., the officer in charge.

The receipts and expenditure of the Protectorate for the year 1903-1904 were: Receipts, £108,857; expenditure, £418,877, showing an increase over the estimated receipts of £9,396, and over the estimated expenditure of £62,919. For 1904-1905 the receipts are estimated at £121,692, and the expenditure at £376,967; receipts for 1905-1906 at £163,000, and expenditure at £403,360. The above figures, which for 1903-1904 contain under the expenditure heading considerable arrear charges, show an increasing revenue, and an expenditure which, for 1905-1906, is less, *pro rata* to the revenue, than in any previous year since the Protectorate was administered by the Foreign Office.

The total value of trade articles imported into and exported from the Protectorate during 1903-1904, the last year for which figures are available, was £596,762.

The Currency Order in Council, providing for the issue of a note currency on a rupee basis, but with the English sovereign as a legal tender, was passed on February 10, 1905.

An outbreak of plague took place at Kisumu on January 1, 1905. The cases were apparently of a virulent type, as, out of twenty-eight natives who were attacked, twenty-five died; but, so far, it has not spread, and no cases have been reported since February 21.

The Anglo-German Boundary Commission hopes to reach Mount

Kilimanjaro, and finish its local labours in July, 1905; meanwhile, it is making satisfactory progress.

#### UGANDA.

Peace and tranquillity have reigned in the Protectorate; the earnest endeavours and the cordial co-operation of all missionary denominations with the Administration have simplified the task of the executive.

In spite of the spread of "sleeping sickness," the material prosperity of the Protectorate has increased, and with it there has been a satisfactory growth of revenue. The receipts and expenditure for the year 1903-1904 were: Receipts, £51,474; expenditure, £186,800, the receipts being £10,539 in excess of the estimates, and the expenditure £4,679 less.

The actual figures for 1904-1905 have not been received; but it is already known that the revenue for 1904-1905, up to February 13, had exceeded the estimated amount for the year—viz., £42,985—by over £5,000. The expenditure was estimated at £184,463, showing a decrease of £7,016 as compared with the estimated expenditure for 1903-1904. For 1905-1906 the receipts have been estimated at £48,795, and the expenditure at £183,562. Thus there has been of late years, calculating on the estimated figures, a steady increase in revenue and a decrease in expenditure, while the actual figures which have been up to now received seem to promise even more favourable results for the year 1905-1906.

The value of the trade during 1903-1904, the last year for which figures are obtainable, rose to £176,047, an increase of 86 per cent. over that for 1902-1903.

The efforts to combat the "sleeping sickness" have, unfortunately, not met with success; but the researches into the disease still continue. Captain Greig's report on the investigations carried on by him on behalf of the Royal Society has been received, and a skilled investigator, Dr. Minchin, has proceeded to Uganda to prosecute further studies. The Royal Society are considering, in consultation with Government Departments, whether any practical measures can be taken to prevent the spread of the malady. Isolation hospitals have already been provided.

Surveying work is being carried on.

The development of the Free State of the Congo should give an impetus to trade, from which the Protectorate must benefit. The improvement of means of communication, and the construction of trunk roads capable of carrying heavy traffic between the Great Lakes, is a subject of much importance, though, from the nature of the country, road-making will prove to be very costly. Still, roads are indispensable for the development of the country, and the question should be faced.

The construction of a new steamer for Lake Albert has been sanctioned, and will be put in hand.

#### SOMALILAND.

Recent events have effected a great improvement in the prospects of this Protectorate.

After the Mullah had been defeated at Jidballi by the forces under Sir C. Egerton, he retired into Italian territory. The Italian Government

were then taking steps to improve the administration of their Protectorate, and negotiations, to which His Majesty's Government were a party, were entered into by them with the Mullah, who made proposals for peace. These negotiations have resulted in the conclusion of an agreement which, if observed by the Mullah, will relieve the Administration of a constant source of anxiety. Meantime, His Majesty's Commissioner is engaged in organizing the tribes, which have been thoroughly demoralized by the prolonged campaigns of recent years, with a view to their own defence.

The 33rd Punjabis have replaced the 101st Grenadiers and the 107th Pioneers as a temporary garrison, and the 6th Battalion of the King's African Rifles, mounted partly on ponies and partly on camels, has been brought up to strength and placed on a permanent footing. If peace is maintained, the Protectorate may soon cease to be a charge to the Imperial Exchequer.

In conclusion, it may not be out of place to observe that, of the results directly due to British Administration of the African Protectorates, not the least satisfactory has been the complete abolition of the slave trade, and the consequent saving of the heavy expenditure formerly entailed by the maintenance of a squadron in East African waters.

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#### INDIAN COOLIE CHILDREN AND THEIR EDUCATION.

Reference has been made on several occasions in these pages to the need for providing additional facilities for the education of children employed "or resident" on tea and other plantations in India and in Ceylon. This question has lately been attracting a good deal of attention both locally and in this country. The subject was raised by Mr. C. E. Schwann, M.P., in the House of Commons during the discussion on the Supplementary Estimates; and a special Commission has been appointed in Colombo to deal with the matter of coolie education and the grouping of estates for school purposes. This step is largely due to representations made last year by Mr. A. G. H. Wise, who was formerly a planter in Ceylon. Mr. Wise has also recently directed Mr. Brodrick's attention to the scheme sanctioned by Mr. Lyttelton in regard to Ceylon. Interesting despatches have been received from the Government of India, which show that there is very scanty provision for the education of this class in most of the planting districts. The facts are briefly as follows:

In Madras the children are eligible for exceptional grants, but it is not clear how many children there are of a school-going age, nor how many attend school. The schools are situated in hilly tracts, which are generally treated as backward localities, and are consequently eligible for concessions under the grant-in-aid code.

In Bengal no special arrangements exist. In the Ranchi district, where there are a few gardens, there are numerous missionary schools, which these children can attend. In the Chittagong division the schools existing near the tea-gardens are to some extent attended by the children in question. There are numerous tea-gardens in the Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts in the Rajshahi division; but neither day-schools nor night-schools are in existence which the children could attend. In places where the gardens are not far apart it might be possible to try the experiment of starting central schools to serve more than one estate. It appears that the Government of Bengal have been in consultation with the Director of Public Instruction and the local officers, with a view to see whether rural primary schools cannot be established in connection with the tea and other plantations. Further reports are to be submitted to the Government of India in due course.

In the United Provinces the children are said to attend the village schools of the district boards; but no returns as to the number of the labour force, nor the proportion of children who are literate, are supplied by the planters.

In Assam, out of 249,104 children only 696 attend school; therefore the children of labourers on tea-gardens grow up without school instruction of any kind. In only nine cases do the gardens subscribe for the maintenance of schools, and seven of these cases occur in the Surma Valley, where the organization of the labour force is on a less artificial basis than in the Assam Valley. It is urged that the children belong to castes which are apathetic, if not opposed, to schooling. Education is very backward amongst the races of the Central Provinces (such as the

Gond and the Kol), whence many of the coolies come. Furthermore, the children contribute materially to the family's earnings, and their parents, as well as possibly the planters, would object to anything which hindered them from working. In Ceylon, however, many planters have allowed the children to attend school for two hours daily without deducting anything from their pay. Mr. Fuller, Chief Commissioner of Assam, thinks it hardly desirable to spend much money in offering instruction to a class which he considers for many years to come will profit by it but little, or at all. The question is, however, to receive attention, and the Chief Commissioner has been asked to submit a further report. It is thought possible that some beneficial results may be obtained by encouraging tea-gardens employes (presumably the native clerks employed to keep accounts, etc.) to teach out of their working hours, through the offer of a small bonus for each coolie child that can read, write, and sum. It may be pointed out that, if instruction is to be imparted to these coolie children, it could be only through the medium of the Assamese language, as the coolies employed are mostly aborigines from a distant country (Sontals, Hos, Kols, Mundaris, and the like), who have no written language of their own. Although the question is admittedly a difficult one, the concentration of the children on the gardens affords a better opportunity than usually exists for imparting some simple vernacular education. Special measures, it may well be hoped, will shortly be taken by the Government of India to provide them with such small amount of education as is (so far as feasible) the proper heritage of every child under British dominion.

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On April 3 Mr. Schwann put the following question in the House of Commons to the Secretary of State for India :—"What is the total number of children between the ages of five and fifteen years employed or resident on tea or other plantations in Assam, Bengal, the United

Provinces, and Madras? How many schools exist for their convenience, and how many of such children attend the schools? Also whether any further facilities have yet been provided in Assam and in Bengal, and whether it is proposed to establish additional schools in the planting districts of the United Provinces and Madras?"

Mr. Brodrick replied: "I would refer the honourable member to the reply given by me on February 27 to a question on this subject by the honourable member for Bethnal Green, North-East Division (Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree). I have no statistics of the children between the ages mentioned on tea and other plantations in India, but the total number of coolie children in Assam is estimated at 249,104, a large proportion of whom are, no doubt, of the school-going age. In that province it is reported that there are seventy-three schools in or near gardens where education can be obtained; the exact number of coolie children attending these schools is not stated, but it is small. I have no statistics for other provinces in India, where garden managers are not required by law to submit returns of their labour force. As I stated in reply to the question of February 27, the matter is receiving attention from the Government of India and the local governments; but I am not in a position to report precisely what action has been taken, or is contemplated."\*

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As has been made abundantly clear in the case of Ceylon, there is a tendency to neglect the educational needs of Indian children after they have once left their native land. A notable instance is furnished by Natal, where a very serious state of things is revealed by Mr. P. A. Barnett, who until recently occupied the position of Superintendent of Education in that Colony. As he points out, the education of Indians in Natal has its own peculiar difficulties. "In many respects," he says, "these are like those which

\* On June 7, Mr. Brodrick stated that he had asked the Government of India to expedite the further reports promised by Lord Curzon.



obstruct any rational and systematic scheme for dealing with the Zulus. But the Indians are quicker witted and more ambitious than the natives; they acquire property, amass wealth, and look much further ahead. This means that much of their destiny is out of our hands. We cannot fight against economic laws, though we may do something to divert their incidence. An ambitious, scheming, and frugal race will get wealth somehow. It must for that very reason be civilized, and be trained to make humane use of its opportunities, or it will horde its wealth, if it is rich, rather than spend it to the general profit, and, while it is poor, will be a danger to a public on whom it will prey. At present our neglect is doing a good deal to confine the Indian population to petty and predaceous industries, to discourage it from acquiring arts and crafts, and to breed a class of peculiarly dangerous criminals. We, as well as they, will benefit if we set up a little machinery for teaching them to use their hands in productive work profitable to us all."

If the facts are as stated by Mr. Barnett, there would appear to be considerable need for an improvement to be effected without delay. The treatment of British Indians in the Transvaal has been actively dealt with in Parliament of late, and members might now turn their attention to Natal, although, as pointed out by Mr. Lyttelton in answer to a question in the House of Commons on June 7, the subject is primarily one for consideration by the local Government, and for discussion in the local Parliament.

In all these matters of education of native races we should do well if we followed the example of France, which is remarkably liberal in the amount expended in this direction, bearing in mind, however, that the education should in most instances be given to Indian natives in the vernacular. Nought but harm can result in providing a form of education, such as is too often given in mission schools, which has the effect of unfitting the youth from following ancestral occupations for which they are for many reasons best qualified.

THE TREATY WITH AFGHANISTAN.

The following is an exact copy of the translation of the treaty signed at Kabul on March 21, 1905 :

“ He is God. Extolled be His perfection.

“ His Majesty Siraj-ul-millat-wa-ud-din Amir Habibulla Khan, Independent King of the State of Afghanistan and its dependencies, on the one part, and the Honourable Mr. Louis William Dane, C.S.I., Foreign Secretary of the Mighty Government of India and Representative of the Exalted British Government, on the other part.

“ His said Majesty does hereby agree to this, that in the principles and in the matters of subsidiary importance of the Treaty regarding internal and external affairs, and of the engagements which His Highness, my late father, that is, Zia-ul-millat-wa-ud-din, who has found mercy, may God enlighten his tomb! concluded and acted upon with the Exalted British Government, I also have acted, am acting, and will act upon the same agreement and compact, and I will not contravene them in any dealing or in any promise.

“ The said Honourable Mr. Louis William Dane does hereby agree to this, that as to the very agreement and engagement which the Exalted British Government concluded and acted upon with the noble father of His Majesty Siraj-ul-millat-wa-ud-din, that is, His Highness Zia-ul-millat-wa-ud-din, who has found mercy, regarding internal and external affairs and matters of principle or of subsidiary importance, I confirm them and write that they (the British Government) will not act contrary to those agreements and engagements in any way or at any time.

“ Made on Tuesday, the fourteenth day of Muharram-ul-haram of the year thirteen hundred and twenty-three Hijri, corresponding to the twenty-first day of March of the year nineteen hundred and five A.D.

“ (Persian Seal of Amir Habibulla Khan.)

“ This is correct. I have sealed and signed.

“ AMIR HABIBULLA.

“ LOUIS W. DANE,

*Foreign Secretary representing the  
Government of India.”*

## FOREIGN TRADE OF PERSIA IN 1903-1904.

The Board of Trade have received, through the Foreign Office, copy of a memorandum by the Secretary to H.M. Legation at Tehran (Mr. E. M. Grant Duff) analyzing the commercial statistics of Persia for the year ended March 20, 1904. Mr. Duff writes:

"The commercial statistics for the period March 20, 1903, to March 20, 1904, are of special interest owing to the fact that the year is the first during which the new tariff has been in force in Persia. Assuming that the figures in the '*Tableau général du commerce avec les pays étrangers*' are accurate, it would appear that the introduction of the new tariff has been beneficial to Persian trade. The total commerce from March 21, 1902, to March 20, 1903, amounts to 459,718,658 kran, or £8,359,430; while from March 21, 1903, to March 20, 1904, the total amounts to 639,810,662 kran, or £11,632,921, showing an increase of £3,273,491.

"The new tariff would also appear to have affected British trade favourably. The total British commerce for 1902-1903 (imports 102,461,452 kran and exports 18,396,675 kran, or £1,862,914 and £334,466 respectively) amounted to 120,858,127 kran, or £2,197,380. To this must be added the figures of the Karun trade, which are not included in the official statistics. The Karun trade in 1902-1903 amounted to about £100,000, so that the total value of British commerce during that period was about £2,300,000.

"The value of British trade with Persia during 1903-1904 (imports 128,401,253 kran, or £2,334,529, and exports 21,113,178 kran, or £383,852) was £2,718,381. This shows an increase of about £400,000 in the trade between the two countries.

"During the period March 21, 1903, to March 20, 1904, Russian trade amounted to—imports 184,732,273 kran (£3,358,770), and exports 115,512,359 kran (£2,827,497), or a total trade of £6,186,267. This is more than double the British trade for the same period, and more than half of the whole trade between Persia and foreign countries."

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

CATHOLIC MISSION PRESS: SHANGHAI.

1. *Petit Dictionnaire Français Chinois (dialecte de Shanghai)*, by REV. C. PÉTILLON, S.J. Price 3<sup>50</sup> mex. (= 6s.). This is almost a counterpart of Père Debesse's dictionary of 1903 (Mandarin dialect), of which 9,000 copies have already been sold, and which we reviewed two years ago. The Shanghai dialect is in many respects merely a local form of that of Ningpo, and corresponds with what the Japanese call the *go-on*, or "dialect of Wu," as distinct from the *kan-on*, or "dialect of Han," both imported into Japan 2,000 years ago, and both still constituent parts of the Japanese language; just as Latin and Greek are two *on* of the same *souche*, imported into Anglo-Saxon, Slav, Teutonic, and other countries. In most cases the definitions given in Chinese character will hold good also for Pekingese, "Southern Mandarin," and the more "reasonable" coast dialects; and even the romanized sounds, though widely different from those of the Mandarin, Fuh Kien, and Southern groups, ought to be etymologically interesting, if not always perfectly comprehensible, to an intelligent student whose speech is confined to one dialect form. The paper is of the finest and toughest; the print of the clearest and neatest. The whole work of 600 pages can easily be carried in the "tail" pocket, and in many respects it recalls the perfect *mécanique* of John Bellows' inimitable French-English, English-French pocket dictionary of thirty years ago. It contains practically everything an ordinary student of Chinese may wish to know for the general purposes of life.—E. H. PARKER.

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CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY: LONDON, 1905.

2. *Japan and the Japan Mission*. Fourth edition, with a map and illustrations. The first part of this little volume is devoted to the general subjects of interest connected with Japan, while the remaining chapters are taken up with the statistics relative to the evangelization of the people. Many works bearing upon this subject have been published, but "Japan and the Japanese Mission" will prove an attractive and readable record of the work and the workers, who are struggling against inevitable adversaries to mission labour. Stories of the lives of native converts are very encouraging, and great hope may be entertained for the future. The volume is printed in good, clear type, and the map marking the special mission fields is excellent.—S.

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ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO., LTD.; 16, JAMES STREET,  
HAYMARKET, LONDON, S.W., 1904.

3. *The Russo-Japanese Conflict: Its Causes and Issues*, by K. ASAKAWA, PH.D., Lecturer on the Civilization and History of East Asia at Dartmouth College; author of the "Early Institutional Life of Japan," etc., with an

Introduction by Frederick Wells Williams, Assistant Professor of Modern Oriental History in Yale University. An able and "statesman's" narrative of the various stages of the conflict with Russia, and without prejudice on either side, the author cites the official documents and correspondence which led up to the present unfortunate struggle. There is a map showing the regions where the interests of the two Powers meet, and several well-executed illustrations of the Russian Minister at Washington, the Russian Foreign Minister, Li Hung-Chang, Count Katsura, Premier of Japan, the Russian Minister at Peking, M. Pavloff, late Russian Minister at Seoul, Baron Komura, Japanese Foreign Minister, Admiral Alexieff, Mr. Kurino, late Japanese Minister at St. Petersburg, Baron de Rosen, late Russian Minister at Tokio, and a good index. Professor Williams in his introduction states correctly that the author presents his views with "a logical thoroughness that reminds us of the military operations of his countrymen now in evidence elsewhere, and recalls very pleasantly to my own mind the sane and accurate character of his scholastic work while a student at Yale. It is the sort of presentation which a great subject needs. It is content with a simple statement of fact and inference. It is convincing because of its brevity and restraint. We strongly recommend this work to statesmen, and all others who are interested in the justness of the Japanese contention and the result of the war, on the enlightenment and improvement of the inhabitants in the regions of the Far East.

4. *A Short History of Ancient Egypt*, by PERCY E. NEWBERRY, author of "Beni Hasan," "El Bersheh," "Rekhmara," "The Amherst Papyri," etc., and JOHN GARSTANG, Reader in Egyptian Archæology, University of Liverpool, author of "The Third Egyptian Dynasty," etc. A short and well-written history, of upwards of 100 pages, of ancient Egypt. In regard to chronology, the opinion of the authors is that it is "certain only as far back as B.C. 1,600—for dates before that time the latest possible year has been appended." They also are of opinion that "the progress which research has made, both in Egypt upon the ancient sites and in the study of the original language and literature, has seemed sufficient authority for setting aside the traditions of later historians, and accepting instead, the evidence of the monument as the ground for their opinions." It has been the aim of the authors "to make no statement which does not rest upon the substantial basis of a fact." These statements are made in a clear and concise form, and embrace the Archaic Period, the Memphite Rule, the Feudal Period, the Early Theban Rulers, the Hyksos Period, the Theban Empire, the Period of Decline, the Disintegration, the Renaissance, the Persian Invasion, and the Final Conquest. There are also in the work various neat and distinct maps, an interesting chronological table, and an excellent index. It would form a most useful text-book for schools and seminaries, as well as a concise, comprehensive, and interesting narrative for the general reader.

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JOHN LANE; LONDON AND NEW YORK, 1905.

5. *With the Pilgrims to Mecca. The Great Pilgrimage of A.H. 1319; A.D. 1902*, by HADJI KHAN, M.R.I.A.S. (Special Correspondent of the

*Morning Post*), and WILFRID SPARROV (Author of "Persian Children of the Royal Family"). With an Introduction by PROFESSOR A. VAMBÉRY. This remarkable volume is not a republication, but a great portion of it is absolutely new, while the whole of the remainder has been not only carefully revised, but also recast, and, to some extent, rewritten. It is divided into three parts: I. A Persian Pilgrim in the Making. II. The Story of the Pilgrimage—(1) London to Jiddah; (2) From Jiddah to Mecca; (3) Within the Harem, of which there is a beautiful illustration; (4) Compassing of the Ka'bah, and various other particulars. III. Meccan Scenes and Sketches. In the appendix there is a remarkable contribution entitled "Some Reflections on the Existence of a Slave Market in Mecca," to which we shall shortly refer. The volume contains many beautiful illustrations of men and places, including "The Harem, showing the Ka'bah and the other Sanctuaries within the Harem (taken from an old Indian illustration)."

Mr. Vambéry, in his introduction, says: "Amongst the varied and manifold impressions of my long and intimate connection with the Muhammadan world, none is more lovely and more interesting than my experience with the Hajees—the dear, pious, and good-natured companions on many of my wanderings in Moslem Asia. We in Europe can hardly have an idea of the zeal and delight which animate the pilgrim to the holy places of Arabia—not only during his sojourn in Mekka and Medina; not only whilst making the Tawaf (procession round the Kaaba); not only during the excursion to the valley of Mina, where the exclamation of 'Lebeik Yā Allah!' rends the air round the Arafat—but long before he has started on his arduous and formerly very dangerous journey to the birthplace of Islam. The Haj, being one of the four fundamental commands of Islam, is looked upon by every true believer as a religious duty, the fulfilment of which is always before his eyes." "The further the Moslem lives from Arabia, the greater becomes the passion to visit the holy places of his religion." "The Haj is a most wonderful institution in the interest of the strength, unity, and spiritual power of Islam; it is a kind of religious parliament, and a gathering-place for the followers of the Prophet, where the sacred Hermandad is fostered despite all differences of race and colour." It is, therefore, important to become acquainted with this religious custom in order "to appreciate duly the political, social, and ethical qualities of this pilgrimage ordained by the Prophet." Hence the importance of this work, written by "a Muhammadan who is not attracted by curiosity but by religious piety, who had free access to every place, who is not hampered by fear of being discovered as a Christian, and who is, besides, a shrewd observer." The work will therefore be read with the keenest interest by our English readers.

As our space will not permit us to prolong our notice of the main portion of the work, we shall conclude by referring to Mr. Sparrov's reflections on the question of Moslem slavery. Mr. Sparrov says: "To be frank, the present-day followers of the Prophet—those who have not been brought under the influence of European civilization—have far less sympathy (with the opinions of the West) than had Muhammad himself.

Humanly speaking, the British crusade against slavery is not only beyond their comprehension; it is also above it. Their outlook on life, with its sights, its limitations, and its responsibilities, differs fundamentally from that of the followers of the Founder of Christianity. The Christian, who speaks of himself as 'a child of God and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven,' believes that the first step is with him and the road with God"—hence his responsibility as a free agent. "The Muhammadan, on the other hand, cannot admit that he has the power to move of his own free will, much less the right to do so. He holds that every true Muslim is, and must be, 'the slave of God.'" Here lies the parting of the ways, and from this simple distinction springs the Moslem's idea of slavery and the Christian's idea of freedom. "He is a free man whom the Truth makes free." This acute essay is worthy of an earnest perusal and careful study.

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LIBRAIRIE ORIENTALE ET AMÉRICAINE; E. GUILMOTÉ, ÉDITEUR;  
PARIS.

6. *Grammaire d'Arabe Régulier*, par L. GALLAND, Capitaine d'Infanterie Coloniale. Préface du DR. E. MONTET, Professeur d'Arabe à l'Université de Genève, Doyen de la Faculté de Théologie. The author of this grammar of literary Arabic appropriately bears a name long celebrated among French Orientalists through the labours and the learning of Antoine Galland,\* whose translation of the "Arabian Nights" in 1704, just 200 years before the appearance of Captain Galland's work, was beginning to lay bare the romance of the East to an astonished and delighted world. Captain Léopold Galland, on leaving St. Cyr as a sub-lieutenant in 1893, was employed in Sénégal and the Soudan. After a distinguished career in these provinces, by which he won his way to a captaincy in 1900, and received the decoration of the Legion of Honour and the silver medal of the Geographical Society of Paris in 1901, he found himself quartered at St. Louis du Sénégal, where he composed the work under review. And, as Professor Dr. Montet justly remarks, the fact that an officer on active service in the colonial army, under trying climatic conditions, should devote his scanty leisure to so abstruse and laborious a task evinces the possession of no common calibre of mind, and of no ordinary enthusiasm for his subject. The work contains an interesting preface by Professor Dr. Montet, an introduction by the author, and 306 pages of text, concluding with a few additions and corrections, an alphabetical index (French), and a table of contents. The bulk of the text is devoted to orthography, orthoëpy, and etymology, which occupy 266 pages, leaving 40 for syntax. Two very useful features are noticeable in this grammar: that it is unusually well furnished with tables of conjugations and other grammatical forms, and that it provides facilities not only for rendering Arabic into French, but also for the converse process. Thus, after explaining the uses of the tenses in the Arabic verb, it proceeds to lay down rules for translating the tenses of the French verb into Arabic.

\* Born at Rollot, near Montdidier, 1646; appointed Professor of Arabic at the College of France 1709; died 1715.

And, in addition to numerous examples selected from the Kur'an and other sources ancient and modern, it gives a careful analysis of the composition of a modern letter in Arabic. It is, perhaps, a pity that the author did not follow the example of Alexandre Chodzko, in his Persian grammar, by appending some facsimiles and transcriptions of modern letters to illustrate his analysis. But probably considerations of space forbade. Captain Galland has certainly succeeded in compressing an immense amount of useful and interesting information into the modest proportions of his book, which may be confidently recommended as a clear, compendious, and practical guide to the study of literary Arabic. The fact that the work was passed through the press, in consequence of the author's absence in Africa, by Professor Dr. Montet is a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of the printing. I have, however, come across one misprint, "Tas'a 'ashrata (19)," at the bottom of the table on p. 256, for "Tis'a 'ashrata," unless it be defended as a variant, on the authority of a reading mentioned by Az Zanakshari and Al Baedawi in "Kur.," xxxviii. 22.—M. S. HOWELL.

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ERMANN LOESCHER AND CO.; CORSO UMBERTO, 1° 307, ROME, 1904.

7. *Vocabolario Italiano-Tigrai e Tigrai-Italiano*, by ALFONSO CIMINO, Colonial Officer. This vocabulary consists of two parts. The first, of 203 pages, gives on each page of three columns about thirty Italian words with their significations in the Tigre character and their pronunciation. The second part consists of 118 pages of two columns each, giving the Tigre words and their meaning in Italian. It winds up with 18 pages of Abyssinian nouns and names, with their meaning and pronunciation in Italian. This book will prove most useful to Italians and those knowing Italian who have any business in Erethrea, and are desirous of attaining a knowledge of the language, which some people are under the impression is but a dialect. It is a language not only spoken all over the highlands of the Colony of Erethrea, but also in the countries bordering on it.

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LUZAC AND CO.; LONDON, 1905.

8. *Chandra Shekhar*. A Bengali novel by the late RAI BAHADOOR BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE, C.I.E., translated by MANMATHA NATH RAY CHOWDHURY of Santosh. The portrait of the translator, in the frontispiece of this volume, is that of a young man, apparently not much over twenty. It was a bold venture, perhaps a little beyond his strength, for him to undertake the translation of a Bengali novel into so difficult a language as English. But those who read the book through will probably be inclined not so much to cavil at the occasional mistakes into which an imperfect acquaintance with the English language has betrayed the translator, as to wonder why it is that no *Englishman*, of all our professed Orientalists, has been found equal to the task of rendering into English for the benefit of his fellow-countrymen, a work which is justly reckoned one of the masterpieces of modern Bengali literature. The work has been known to fame, in India, for upwards of thirty years. Considered merely as a novel, its



plot and the masterly delineation of character which it exhibits, entitle it to rank with the most famous creations of Western genius. Its descriptions of manners and of scenery are vivid and picturesque. A spirit of the purest morality breathes in all the casual utterances of the author, and animates the conduct of the principal actors in the story. The characters of the two heroines—one a high caste Brahmin girl, and the other an Armenian adventuress who has presumably adopted the tenets of Islam—are finely contrasted, as also are those of the two girl friends who respectively enjoy their confidence. And the author, without in any way concealing their faults, has succeeded in making each of them charming. The time with which the action of the story is concerned is one of exceptional interest in the history of modern India. The style (of the original Bengali) is said to be a model of perspicuity and vivacity. Although the author received the distinction of a Companionship in the Order of the Indian Empire from the Indian Government, probably no recognition of his merit would have been more gratifying to him than that his books should have been rendered into English and read and appreciated in British homes.

Many ponderous volumes have been published in England dealing with every phase of life in the India of generations long since dead and buried. And still the cry is that, for all practical purposes, the mind of the East must ever remain a sealed book to that of the West. Is it not time for our Orientalists to change their methods and try to give us some notion of the living India of to-day by studying and reproducing in English translations the best specimens of the *modern* Indian literature? It will then be found, as anyone who reads this book will be convinced, that human nature is much the same in India as it is in England, and that there is no barrier between the inhabitants of the two countries save that which is bred of wilful antipathy and mistrust.

We congratulate the youthful translator of "Chandra Shekhar" on having performed, with far more success than might have been expected, a task which should long since have been undertaken by some English man of letters, and cordially commend his work to all English readers who take an interest in the India of our own age. The book is well printed, and the beautiful illustrations with which it is adorned should greatly add to its popularity.—W.

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HORACE MARSHALL AND SON, TEMPLE HOUSE, AND 125, FLEET STREET ;  
LONDON, E.C., 1905.

9. *Hakluyt's English Voyages*, selected and edited, with introduction, notes, and glossary, by E. E. SPEIGHT, B.A., F.R.G.S., with a Preface by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., President of the Hakluyt Society, and of the Royal Geographical Society, with illustrations and maps by R. Morton Nance. Mr. Speight has revived old times, and by his selections from Hakluyt's works has given us, as a Rip Van Winkle, interesting and pleasant stories of our ancient English voyagers and explorers, which to some extent conveyed a knowledge of the geography of a certain portion of the globe, and which laid the germ of our Colonial

Empire, as we find it in our own day. Sir Clements, in his short preface, says truly, "There is no more important study to prepare for any love of life whatever than the study of geography. It embraces so much, the need of it is so great in every profession, ignorance of it is so disastrous. The best preparation for such a study is a knowledge of its history, and of the voyages and travels, of the adventures and valorous deeds, of the makers of geography in the days of old, the builders of our Empire. These stories excite the imagination, arouse curiosity, and prepare the mind for the study of that science of geography, which was created by the ability, perseverance, and bravery of the heroes embalmed by Hakluyt. No one has ever told these stories so well as Richard Hakluyt."

Hakluyt was a Herefordshire man of Dutch ancestry. On leaving Westminster School, he went to Christ Church, Oxford. He died in 1616, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. His narratives are contained in three bulky volumes, issued in 1598-1600. The present volume contains a small selection from his works, one of which, relating to Japan, is of interest at the present time. The writer, a Mr. R. Willes, describes "Giapan," or Japan, in 1565, as follows: "The country is hilly and pestered with snow. Barley-bran the Islanders do use instead of salt. Medicinable things wholesome for the body they have none. Nevertheless, in that island sundry fruits do grow, not much unlike fruits of Spain, and great store of silver mines are therein to be seen. The people are tractable, civil, witty, courteous, without deceit, in virtue and honest conversation, exceeding all other nations lately discovered, but so much standing on their reputation that their chief idol may be thought honour. . . ." "These fellows neither eat nor kill any fowl. They live chiefly by fish, herbs, and fruit so healthfully that they die very old. . . ." "Utterly they do abhor dice and all games, accounting nothing more vile in a man than to give himself unto those things that make us greedy and desirous to get other men's goods. If at any time they do swear, for that seldom they are wont to do, they swear by the Sun. Each one is content with one wife. They be all desirous to learn, and naturally inclined to honesty and courtesy. Godly talk they listen to willingly, especially when they understand it thoroughly." Such is the impression of the traveller more than four centuries ago. This attractive and interesting volume contains useful notes and explanations, a bibliography, and a glossary of terms, words, and phrases, now nearly obsolete, of our ancient voyagers, explorers, and merchantmen now almost forgotten.

JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W., 1905.

10. *Five Years in a Persian Town*, by NAPIER MALCOLM. The reverend author gives a short but a remarkably simple and correct description of the town of Yezd, its people, its surroundings, their social customs and habits, and the various types of their religious beliefs. He states that his work "is not a book upon mission work," although by his narratives and opinions he opens the door whereby a Christian missionary may see and enter, and that successfully. He also touches upon the system of Persian

Government, and gently indicates the various departments that may be improved with respect to religious liberty and good government, with the view of promoting and fostering not only civilization but the welfare of the people. The author describes the two chief sects of the place, and gives very useful hints to the missionary in ascertaining those points in which Islam and Christianity agree, and then arguing out the points in which differences of belief and tenets arise. The illustrations, both coloured and otherwise, are interesting and well executed. There are an excellent map of Persia, a good index, and a very useful glossary of terms and words occurring in the course of the work. The general reader, the traveller, the missionary, and the merchant will find, in their respective spheres and objects, very interesting and valuable information.

GEORGE NEWNES, LTD.; SOUTHAMPTON STREET, STRAND, LONDON, W.C.

11. *Indian Life in Town and Country*, by HERBERT COMPTON, with seventeen illustrations. This is a concise and well-written work, giving at a glance, from its well-executed illustrations and descriptions of (1) native Indian life, and (2) Anglo-Indian life. There is also a minute index of the subjects and objects referred to in the volume. The author correctly states that India is "a conglomeration of distinct kingdoms and peoples, differing as widely in conditions and characteristics as Russia and Portugal, or the Norwegian and the Turk." The people are "a heterogeneous, polyglot combination of individuals, who belong to a dozen different nationalities, talk a Babel of tongues, and live in a variety of countries, the physical features of which differ as much as their climatic conditions. The author's description of bungalow life is interesting and amusing to those who have not visited India. He says: "The Anglo-Indian bungalow is as different from an English house in its external appearance and internal arrangement as a temple from a church. It is always a detached building standing on ground of its own, which is called the 'compound,' single-storied, rambling, and flat-roofed. The doors are ill-fitting and clumsy, the windows small and often unable to be opened, and a 'sash' window is unknown. The walls are whitewashed or distempered, and the floors are of concrete. Every room has direct access to a veranda, and all enter one into another, for there are no passages. Each bedroom has its own bath and retiring-room, there being no drains in India. A room with a single door in it is unknown: all have two, and many three, four, and even six, and those leading on to the verandas are generally glazed, which saves windows. Very few bungalows have halls, the veranda in the front of the house doing duty for such. Cellarage does not exist, and, naturally, there are no fireplaces, save in those districts in the North of India where the nights are chilly in the 'cold weather,' which is the Indian name for winter. Except in the capital cities, water and gas are conspicuous by their absence, and you may call at every house between Cape Comorin and Cashmere without finding a bell to pull." Our space does not allow us to give a further description of the various topics to which the author refers in his interesting and instructive narrative.

"NORTH CHINA HERALD" OFFICE; SHANGHAI, 1904.

12. *East of Asia*, vol. iii., Nos. 3 and 4. This illustrated quarterly magazine keeps up its interest for all who care to acquire knowledge of either notable or obscure places in Eastern regions of the earth. There are many able papers included in these numbers, especially "Manchuria, the Coveted Land," by G. W. Hierman, and "Notes of a Voyage across Manchuria," by Count Vay de Vaya. In Papers I. and II., on the "Loochoo Islands," by Professor Leavenworth, much information and pleasant reading is embodied. As the Loochoo Islands belong to the Japanese, we are glad to find that the Loochoans are a docile race, capable of a higher civilization, under the guidance of their energetic rulers. On "Chinese Marriage Customs," Helena Von Poseck has much that is curious to tell us; while in the Chinese fairy-tale, "The Simpleton," we are reminded how much we are indebted to the East for the construction and general tenor of our own folk-lore stories. "The Gem of the Orient Earth" and "The Beautiful River Min" are both prettily written. The illustrations of this magazine continue to charm us, both by reason of their variety of colour and subject.—S.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*Cook's Handbook for Egypt and the Sūdān*, by E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., LITT.D., D.LITT., D. LIT., Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum (London: Thos. Cook and Son, Ludgate Circus, E.C.; Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Ltd.; and the Offices of Messrs. Cook in Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said, Assouan, Halfa, Ismailia, Khartoum, Luxor, etc., 1905). This volume, with its numerous maps and illustrations, is more than a mere guide-book. It contains much historical information of all kinds about places and monuments brought up to the present time, an elementary Arabic grammar, a vocabulary of English and Arabic words and colloquial phrases. In short, it is a *vade mecum* to the whole Egyptian region, its history, and present condition. It is got up in a very handy form, and will prove of much interest and usefulness to travellers.

*Rice Papers*, by H. L. NORRIS (Longmans, Green and Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London, New York, and Bombay, 1905). This volume is dedicated to the Commodore and Officers of H.M.S. *Tamar*. It is composed of a "Sailor's Yarns," amusing in themselves, and well written. The author acknowledges that they are only stories, and have not the merit of being true. Nevertheless, they possess an interest in showing that the Chinaman is not a "doddering idiot," but a man altogether of a different sort.

*The Riyaz-u-s-Salatin, A History of Bengal*, by GHULAM HUSAIN SALIM; translated from the original Persian, by MAULAVI ABDUS SALAM, M.A., Bengal Provincial Civil Service (member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal), author of translations of "Urfi and Sih-nasr-i-Zahuri" Fasc. I. Calcutta: the Baptist Mission Press, and published by the Asiatic Society, 57, Park Street, 1902). This translation has been rendered by Maulavi

Abdus Salam, at the instance of, and published by, the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The original is "much prized as being the fullest account, in Persian, of the Muhammadan History of Bengal." The translator has contributed many valuable notes in the course of his translation, exhibiting great research, and adding much valuable information to the original history. We cordially recommend it to the attention of our readers.

*Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*: Part VII., *Sanskrit Literature*; B, *Poetical Literature*; III., *Poetic Compositions in Verse and Prose*; IV., *Dramatic Literature*. Edited by JULIUS EGGELING, PH.D., Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the University of Edinburgh (London: printed by order of the Secretary of State for India in Council, 1904). This interesting and well-printed volume consists of more than 200 quarto pages.

*The India List and India Office List for 1905. Compiled from Official Records by direction of the Secretary of State for India in Council*. (London: Harrison and Sons, 59, Pall Mall, booksellers to His Majesty and H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.) This most useful compilation contains, in detail, every information connected with Indian administration—its officials in active service and those who have retired. It also possesses an excellent map, showing the Indian Empire, the British Territory, Dependent and Subordinate Native States, lines of railway opened and not opened, roads, etc. The work confers much credit on the compilers, publishers, and printers, and it ought to be on the table of every public library both in Great Britain and in India.

*Baroda Administration Report, 1902-03 and 1903-04*. Compiled under the Orders of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar. By ROMESH C. DUTT, C.I.E., Revenue Minister of Baroda (Printed at the *Times Press*, Bombay, 1905). The present report is designed to take the place of the double issue of reports of preceding years. It states in a concise form figures, tabular statements, and facts essential, useful, and interesting. It embraces the following subjects: (1) Political; (2) Legislative; (3) Judicial; (4) Revenue; (5) Settlements; (6) Self-government; (7) Finance; (8) Education; (9) Medical; (10) Public Works; (11) Police; (12) Jails; and a statement in regard to the Famine Relief of 1904-05. There is also a very striking map of the Territory of Baroda and the population of each district, showing a total of 1,952,692.

*The Handy (Shilling) Atlas of the British Empire*, by J. G. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.G.S. (London: George Newnes, Limited). This well-got-up atlas may be considered an atlas for the pocket. Besides clear and well-executed maps of the countries and chief towns of the British Empire, it contains tabular comparative statements with other countries, including almost every subject relating to population, imports, exports, and other topics connected with trade, commerce, etc. There is a good portrait of King Edward VII., and there are also numerous lists and indices.

*The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, by V. KANAKASABHAI (Higginbotham and Co., Madras and Bangalore, 1904). A volume of nearly 250 pages, with a minute index, dedicated to the Hon. Dewan Bahadar, Sir S. Subramanya Iyer, K.C.I.E., Acting Chief Justice of Madras.

The work consists of a series of articles contributed to the *Madras Review* from 1895 to 1901. It treats of the civilization of the Tamils and their literature during the first century and a half of the Christian era. There is an admirable introduction, a description of the geography of their kingdom, their trade and commerce, races and tribes, their social life, their poems and poets, their systems of philosophy and religion, and their decadence. The work will be read with much interest, as an exhaustive historical research and an excellent narrative of a people of Southern India, whose history, civilization, and literature have hitherto been little known to the English reader.

*The Śrauta-Sūtra of Drāhyāyana with the Commentary of Dhanvin*, edited by J. N. REUTER, PH.D., LL.D., Lecturer of Sanskrit, in the University of Helsingfors. Part I., reprinted from the *Acta Societates Scientiarum Fennicæ*; T. xxv., Pars II. (London: Luzac and Co., opposite the British Museum, 1904). The text is clear and well printed, and is accompanied by the complete "Commentary of Dhanvin," compiled from fragments in various MSS. It is entirely independent of Agnisvāmin's Commentary on the "Sūtras of Lātyāyana," but both will form useful complements to one another, whenever the two Sūtra texts agree. This work will be completed in three parts, the editor reserving to the concluding part a full discussion of the manuscripts used by him in preparing this edition, a text of which is now given. The subsequent parts and introduction will be looked for with much interest.

*Selections from Prescott's History of the Conquest of Mexico*, edited by A. S. LAMPREY, B.A., late scholar of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Assistant Master at the Maidstone Grammar School (Horace Marshall and Son, Temple House, and 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C., 1905). Among the works suggested by the Board of Education as suitable for school reading is Prescott's "History of the Conquest of Mexico." The selections which compose this small work briefly describe the adventures of Cortès, the Spanish pioneer and explorer of Mexico. The work is well adapted for the purpose for which it is compiled. There are several very old and quaint illustrations, and an admirable portrait and letterpress description of Cortès himself.—*Selections from Prescott's History of the Conquest of Peru* (edited by the same writer and published by the same firm). Prescott's "History of Peru" having been selected also by the Board of Education as a course of reading to young students, Mr. Lamprey, the compiler, has written this small volume, partly to show Prescott's style of description and rich vocabulary, and partly to exhibit the Spaniards' daring with the view of obtaining gold. There are various illustrations and maps. Mr. Lamprey has executed his task judiciously, and the work will be found interesting and useful as a school book.

*The Indian World, a Monthly Review of Indian Politics and Economics, Indian Arts and Industries, Indian History and Literature*. Edited by PRITHUIS CHANDRA RAY (Printed and published from the Cherry Press, 3, Humāyoon Place, Chowringhee Road, Calcutta). No. I., Vol. I. An interesting and a well-illustrated periodical containing valuable and useful articles on several of the subjects indicated above. The first article is

by the well-known Romesh Dutt, C.I.E., giving his "First Impressions of Baroda." Among the illustrations is a portrait of Akbar and of H.H. the Gaekwar of Baroda.

*The Original Sources of the Qur'an*, by the REV. W. ST. CLAIR TISDALL, M.A., D.D., author of "The Religion of the Crescent," "The Noble Eight-fold Path," "Manual of Muhammadan Objections," etc. (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C., Brighton, and New York, 1905). This well-written and well-printed book, dedicated to Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., late Principal of the University of Edinburgh, will be found most useful to the Christian missionary. The author, after a thorough personal study of many ancient records, has given the result of his researches regarding sources from which Islam has sprung. His conclusion is that we have the Qur'an as Muhammad left it, and hence it constitutes the "Bible" of Islam. There is a useful index to the topics referred to throughout the volume.

*The Sportsman's Year-Book*, 1905. Edited by A. WALLIS MYERS (George Newnes, Ltd., Southampton Street, Strand, London, W.C.). This is the first year of the "Sportsman's Year-Book." It contains a short history of all the games or sports that prevail in England, accompanied with excellent illustrations of many who have won prizes, and also a short biographical sketch of those whose names are well known in the respective sports. No doubt the work will be esteemed by English sportsmen, and as years come round many improvements will be introduced, enhancing the value and interest of the publication.

*A Handbook of the Ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language*, by the REV. G. U. POPE, M.A., D.D., Balliol College, Oxford. Part III. *A Compendious Tamil-English Dictionary*. Seventh edition (the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1905). A very useful dictionary of about 100 pages, containing all the words in ordinary use. High Tamil words have, for the most part, been excluded. The Tamil-English and the English-Tamil dictionaries are intended mutually to illustrate one another. The type of Tamil and English are very clear and distinct, and will give the student much information and pleasure when consulting the dictionary.

*Livingstone College Year-Book*, 1905: *A Record of a Year's Work at the College, and of Former Students in all Parts of the World. Containing also Hints to Travellers in the Tropical Regions in matters of Health, Outfit, and Travel* (Livingstone College, Leyton, London, E.). A most useful compendium of facts and useful hints, showing the importance of missionaries possessing a knowledge of medicine and acquiring medical skill. We hope all missionary societies will co-operate and send their students to this unique College. The saying formerly was that the Moravian missionary went to foreign parts with "the Bible in the one hand and the spade in the other." But this saying may now be extended by the revelation of this year-book—"the Bible in the one hand, and in the other the medicine-chest and medical skill."

*The Sayings of Muhammad*, edited by ABDULLAH AL-MĀMŪN AL-SUHRĀWARDY, M.A., M.R.A.S. (Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 16, James Street, Haymarket, London). A handy little volume containing collections

of the authentic utterances of the prophet on various ethical and other social topics. Also sayings to "illustrate the rude and barbarous manners of the people amongst whom the Law-giver lived, while a few are specially meant for the Muslim, the mystic, the spiritualist, and the sūfī." The object of the writer is "to quicken the march of the spirit of Renaissance and Reform now abroad in the Dār-al-Islām, and to awaken an interest in the faith amongst those seekers after Truth in the West." The booklet has a minute index to the sayings which are quoted.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Captain, The Strand Magazine, The Grand Magazine, The Sunday Strand, The Wide World Magazine*;—*Technics*, a magazine for technical students;—*A Technological and Scientific Dictionary*, edited by G. F. Goodchild, B.A., and C. F. Tweney; *C. B. Fry's Magazine, How we recovered the Ashes*, by P. F. Warner, price 1s.;—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Company, Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review*;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika* (Black Town, Madras);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender* (92, Victoria Street, London, S.W.);—*Sphinx*. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, publiée par Karl Piehl (Upsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln, C. J. Lundström; London: Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden);—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*. Revue de politique extérieure, paraissant le 1<sup>er</sup> et le 15 de chaque mois (Paris: Rue Bonaparte 19);—*The Rapid Review* (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.);—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C.; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh);



Edward Ponsonby, Dublin);—*The British Empire Review*, the organ of the British Empire League, a non-partisan monthly magazine for readers interested in Imperial and Colonial affairs and literature (The British Empire League, 112, Cannon Street, London, E.C.);—*Climate*, a quarterly journal of Health and Travel, edited by C. F. Hartford, M.A., M.D. (Travellers' Health Bureau, Leyton, E.; and Castle, Lamb and Storr, 33, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, E.C.);—*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. Revue philologique, paraissant tous les trois mois, vol. iv., No. 3 (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1904);—*The Wednesday Review* of politics, literature, society, science, etc. (S. M. Raja Ram Rao, editor and proprietor, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly, Madras);—*The Hindustan Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), February, March, and April, 1905 (the Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*Lo Spettatore* (Rome);—*The Publisher and Bookseller*, a week's review of the book trade (37, Southampton Street, Strand);—*Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1903-1904* (Bombay: printed at the Government Central Press, 1904);—also *Resolution Reviewing the Reports on the Administration of the Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, and Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Bombay assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations*, 1904 (vol. xlii.), *Bulletin of the Imperial Institute* (vol. iii., No. 1, 1905);—*Lullabies*, used for Japanese children, by Syed Amirshah of Chakival, Jhelum District, Panjab, India, English and Urdu (for private circulation);—*A Plea for Universal Peace*, a proposed establishment of a Universal Peace Society, by Chokei Yoshimura, Citizen of Japan.

We regret that want of space obliges us to hold over the notices of the following works: *The Ring from Jaipur*, by Frances M. Peard, author of "The Rose Garden," "Contradictions," etc. (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 15, Waterloo Place, 1904);—*The Story of my Struggles*: the memoirs of Arminius Vambéry, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Budapest, two volumes (London: T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square, 1904);—*The Life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava*, by Sir Alfred Lyall, P.C., with portraits, etc., 8vo., two volumes (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, W.);—*The Story of an Indian Upland*, by F. B. Bradley-Birt, B.A., I.C.S., late Scholar of Brasenose College, Oxford, etc., with twenty illustrations and a map, and an introduction by the Hon. H. H. Risley, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Home Secretary to the Government of India (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 15, Waterloo Place, S.W., 1905).—*The Masai, their Language and Folk-lore*, by A. C. Hollis, with an introduction by Sir Charles Eliot (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1905);—*Britain's Destiny: Growth or Decay?* Being outlines of "The Redemption of Labour" and "The Science of Civilization." By the late Cecil Balfour Phipson, edited by Mark B. F. Major (Cassell and Company, Limited, London, Paris, New York, and Melbourne, 1905);—*The*

*Original Sources of the Qur'an*, by the Rev. W. St. Clair Tisdall, M.A., D.D., author of "The Religion of the Crescent," "The Noble Eightfold Path," "Manual of Muhammadan Objections," etc. (Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge, London, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.);—*Indian Problems*, connected with education, agriculture, and land revenue, by the Rev. A. Andrew, Chingleput (Madras: G. A. Natesan and Co.);—*The Drift of Buddhism from India, to the Mongols, and Tibet*, with a map of the religions of the world, by Colonel A. T. Fraser, late Royal Engineers (London: Robert Banks and Son, Racquet Court, Fleet Street, E.C.);—*The Mahabharata: A Criticism*, by C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL.B., Hon. Fellow of the University of Bombay (A. J. Combridge and Co., Bombay, and 31, Newgate Street, London, 1905).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—The Budget estimate, published in March, 1904, showed a surplus of 918,700 lacs. It is now estimated that the surplus will amount to 3,485,500 lacs. The improvement of 2,566,800 lacs is made up as follows: Total Receipts, +4,550,500 lacs; Total Expenditure, +1,913,700 lacs; Net Improvement, 2,566,800 lacs. The Budget for 1905-1906 provides for the remission of taxation, etc., amounting to 2,495,000 lacs. The surplus, but for several items of taxation, etc., would have been estimated at 3,398,800 lacs, is consequently reduced to 903,800 lacs. Capital Expenditure, Borrowing, etc., in 1905-1906: Capital Expenditure by State on Railways, £6,862,000; Capital Expenditure by Railway Companies, £1,588,300; Capital Expenditure on Irrigation, £833,400; Purchase of Bengal Central Railway, £500,000; Discharge of Debt (temporary and permanent), £893,300; Net Payments under Deposits, Advances, Remittances, etc., £1,198,000; Total, £11,875,000. Method of provision for Capital Expenditure as follows: Revenue Surplus, £903,800; Borrowing by Railway Companies, £2,520,800; Sterling Loan, £2,000,000; Rupee Loan, £2,666,700; Savings Banks Deposits, 846,500; Reduction of Balances in England and India, £2,938,100; Total, £11,875,900. Estimated Closing Balances, March 31, 1906, in India, £12,160,052; in England, £5,573,482; Total, £17,733,534. Estimated Drawings of Council Bills and Telegraphic Transfers in 1905-1906, £17,833,000. *Railway Programme*.—The expenditure on railways in 1905-1906 of capital provided or guaranteed by the State is estimated as follows: On Open Lines, £3,720,067; on Lines Under Construction, £4,265,600; on New Lines to be commenced during the year, £347,667; Total, £8,333,334. Of this sum, £8,000,000 is the grant sanctioned by the Secretary of State in Council for 1905-1906, and £333,334 is re-allotted from the unspent balance of the grant for 1904-1905.

According to a return just published, the total gross revenue of India for 1903-1904 was 83,756,155 lacs, and the total gross expenditure charged against revenue, 80,759,755 lacs.

Northern India was visited by an earthquake on April 4. Lahore was wrecked. The hill station at Dharmasala was completely destroyed, the barracks of the Gurkhas collapsing and overwhelming 470 of them. At Palampur and Kangra sub-districts 13,000 lives were lost, including a number of Europeans. Amritsar, Jalandar, Firuzpur, Multan, Rawal Pindi, Dalhousie, Patiala, also suffered.

At the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Panjāb *Anjuman-i-Himāyat-i-Islām* at Lahore, 8,000 persons were present daily. Its income was stated to be for the past year Rs. 72,000, and the expenditure Rs. 65,000. The sum in hand amounted to Rs. 2,07,000. There were 1,600 students in the college.

The Chancellor of the Panjāb University has appointed Mr. T. Gordon

Walker, C.S.I., officiating Financial Commissioner of the Panjāb, to be Vice-Chancellor *vice* the Hon. Sir Lewis Tupper, resigned.

Measures are being concerted for giving a suitable reception to their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales on the occasion of their approaching visit this autumn to India.

INDIA: NATIVE STATES.—The Thakor Sahib of GONDAL has offered Rs. 5,00,000 towards the building fund, and Rs. 35,000 annually for maintenance, with a free site of 300 acres of land, provided the Tata Institute is located in Gondal. These terms are more favourable than those offered by the Maisur Government for locating the Institute in Bangalore.

The Nawab of Pahasu district has placed Rs. 50,000 at the disposal of Government for constructing a masonry bridge over the river Kali, and metalling the Chettari road. Other donations made by the Nawab are Rs. 20,000 for the boarding-house at Aligarh College, and Rs. 1,000 to two institutions at Agra.

The Maharaja Gaekwar of BARODA was in London during May, on a private visit and for the benefit of his health.

The Maharaj-Adhiraj of BURDWAN has given Rs. 2,500, and the Maharaja of Darbhanga Rs. 1,000, to the Kangra Earthquake Relief Fund.

The young Raja of Jawhār was installed on the *gadi* on April 19.

The marriage of the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur and the Princess of Nabha took place in June.

The summing up of the review of the Cochin Administration Report for 1903-1904 is as follows: "The finances are sound, and a moderate land assessment is shortly to be ordered and equalized under the direction of a Diwan specially well qualified for the task by long experience of settlement work. The departments were conducted efficiently in most respects, and the active participation in public affairs of an enlightened and progressive chief continue to conduce to the welfare of the State, and to deserve the appreciation and commendation which His Excellency the Governor in Council gladly places on record.

At a Darbar held at Khatmandu, the capital of NEPAL, the insignia of the G.C.S.I. was presented by the Resident (Major Manners-Smith, V.C., C.I.E.) to H.E. Maharaja Sir Chandra Shamshir Jang, Rana Bahadur, the Prime Minister. This was followed by a grand review of the Nepalese troops, 10,750 strong.

INDIA: FRONTIER.—It is said that the chiefs of Dir have practically agreed upon the terms of a settlement.

On the Tibet frontier all is quiet, and trade is increasing.

CEYLON.—The total receipts of the last pearl fishery were valued at 25 lacs of rupees (£166,000), the largest amount on record.

Messrs. Solomon Christoffel Obeyesekere and Semasinha Navaratna Wanninayaka Hulugalla have been reappointed unofficial members of the Legislative Council of the island.

The population of the whole island at the end of 1904 was estimated at 3,812,931.

BURMA.—On May 8, Sir Hugh Shakespeare Barnes made over the Lieutenant-Governorship of Burma to Sir Herbert White.

A mission composed of English and Chinese officials started from Rangoon in March last for the Burmo-Chinese frontier, with the object of examining the conditions existing there. The Government have in view the extension of trade along the caravan route from Bhamo, on the Upper Irrawady, to Momein (Teng-yueh), in the Chinese province of Yunnan.

BALUCHISTAN.—The Sistan Mission started on its return to India via the new trade route and Quetta on May 15, having completed their labours, which have lasted over two years.

AFGHANISTAN.—The British Mission to the Amir, under Mr. Louis Dane, C.S.I. (since appointed K.C.S.I.), after having fulfilled its object, returned to India early in April. It was very cordially entertained by His Highness the Amir. The renewal of the treaty with Great Britain concluded by the late Amir, Abdur Rahman Khan, was signed. See text of treaty elsewhere in this Review.

PERSIA.—H.I.M. the Shahinshah left the capital on his visit to Europe, via the Caucasus, on May 7, leaving the Heir-Apparent as Regent. Over forty persons are accompanying His Majesty.

His Highness Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan, 'Ala-es-Saltaneh, Amir Nuyān, the Persian Minister at the Court of St. James's, after having been on a short visit to Persia, has returned to London. He was accompanied by a Special Mission, composed of His Excellency Mirza Daoud Khan, Miftah-us-Saltaneh, Chief of the British Department at the Persian Foreign Office Councillor to the Special Mission, and Mirza Hussein Khan, Muin-ul-Vazāreh, First Secretary, etc. The Special Mission was the bearer of many valuable presents from His Majesty the Shah for the King and Queen.

The Persian Army is being reconstructed. It will consist of twelve divisions, composed of infantry, artillery, and cavalry, each under the command of a Sirdar.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—In Yemen the position of the Turkish forces (mainly composed of Syrians) is precarious. Zamar, Yerim, Aneysa, and Hadieh have fallen into the hands of the insurgents. The mountain fortress of Ibb is surrounded, and Sana, after a long resistance, surrendered to the Imām on April 20 last. It is stated that an emissary from Muhammad Yahyā, the principal Shaikh of Yemen, has reached Constantinople, and submitted certain proposals for the autonomy of Yemen in return for a payment of an annual tribute.

A caravan of Egyptian pilgrims has been attacked by Arabs, and seventeen Egyptian soldiers of the escort have been killed.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—The Orenburg-Tashkand railway is now open for passenger and goods traffic.

The following Press communique has been issued: "In July, 1902, the Russian Government notified the withdrawal of all restrictions against foreigners wishing to travel in Trans-Caspia, Turkestan, and Russian Central Asia, except that visits to certain named places were prohibited.

"The Russian Government have now restored the regulation prohibiting

foreigners from travelling in their Central Asian possessions generally. The effect of this is that no foreigner can enter Trans-Caspia or Turkestan without a special permit from the Russian Government."

ADEN.—The boundary of 300 miles of frontier between the Aden Protectorate and Yemen, from the Great Arabian Desert to Point Murad, on the Gulf of Aden, has, after nearly three years' negotiations, been satisfactorily settled.

JAPAN.—At the Clearing House Association of Tokyo, Baron Komura, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Baron Sone, Minister of Finance, and Baron Shibusawa, made observations. The latter said that the commerce and productive capacity of the country were growing in spite of the war. The clearings in 1904 exceeded 4,000,000,000 yen (£400,000,000), and he estimated that in 1905 they would exceed 5,000,000,000 yen (£500,000,000).

*The Russo-Japanese War.*—The Russian Baltic fleet, under the command of Admiral Rozhdestvensky, which had left the shores of Madagascar on March 16, was attacked by the Japanese fleet under Admiral Togo on May 27, after entering the Tsushima Straits, between Korea and Japan. The battle was continued during the night and the next day. All the Russian battleships were sunk, with the exception of two, which were captured. Admirals Rozdestvensky and Nebogatoff, both of whom were wounded, were taken prisoners with their staff. All the other Russian ships were either sunk or captured, with the exception of the *Almaz*, which managed to reach Vladivostock, the destroyer *Bodry*, picked up by a British steamer and towed into Shanghai, and the *Oleg*, *Aurora*, and *Jemtchug*, with Rear-Admiral Enquist, which, although much injured, arrived at Manila, and have been interned by orders of the United States Government.

Fourteen thousand Russians were killed or wounded, 6,142 were captured, and 3,000 escaped.

Marvellous to relate, the loss of the Japanese consisted of only three torpedo boats sunk, 118 officers and men killed, and 424 officers and men wounded.

Mr. Roosevelt, the President of the United States, took the initiative early in June, and in a note to the Russian and Japanese Governments urged them in the interests of humanity to open direct negotiations for peace. (Up to the time of our going to press nothing has been definitely decided.)

CHINA.—The Anglo-Chinese Telegraph Convention of 1894-1895 has been renewed. It is expected that the overland route to Europe, via Burma, will be patronized, as the rates will be cheaper than by cable.

Tseng-chi, the Tartar General of Mukden, and the highest Chinese official in Manchuria, has retired, and has been succeeded by Chao Erh-hsun, the present President of the Board of Revenue.

SIAM.—The revenue for the current year has been estimated at 53,000,000 ticals (£2,940,000), being an increase of 5,500,000 as compared with the previous year.

H.M. the King has abolished slavery in all his dominions.

ABYSSINIA.—An agreement has been arrived at in regard to the Ethiopian railway between Great Britain, France, and Italy.

The principal terms of the contract entered into between the Emperor Menelek and the National Bank of Egypt are the monopoly by the bank of banking business in Abyssinia for a term of fifty years, the perpetual monopoly of minting and bank-note circulation, as well as that of trading entrepôts.

RHODESIA.—The great bridge, the highest in the world, over the gorge at the Victoria Falls on the Zambesi River was linked up on April 1, in the presence of Sir Charles Metcalfe, consulting engineer in Rhodesia.

The new Budget estimates the revenue for the current year at £518,000, and the expenditure at £530,000. Mining and farming are making satisfactory progress, and the attitude of the natives is also satisfactory. Samples of Turkish tobacco grown at Bulawayo are pronounced to be of first-rate quality.

Great finds of diamonds and other precious stones have been made in the neighbourhood of Gwelo.

NATAL.—Parliament was opened at Pietermaritzburg on March 30, when the Governor, in his speech, paid a warm tribute to Lord Milner. The Bill confirming a railway agreement with the Orange River Colony has been passed in the Assembly, and the loan of £650,000, required to carry out the same, has been sanctioned.

The Ministerialists and the Opposition being about evenly balanced, Sir G. M. Sutton, the Premier, has resigned, and a new Cabinet has been formed as follows: Mr. Smythe, Premier and Colonial Secretary; Mr. Hyslop, Treasurer; Mr. Winter, Native Affairs and Public Works; Messrs. Maydon, Watt, and Clayton retain their portfolios.

TRANSVAAL.—The revenue for the eight months ended February 28 last amounted to £2,623,702, as compared with £2,843,343, and the expenditure to £2,522,527, as compared with £2,639,519 in the previous year.

*The New Constitution.*—The Legislative Assembly will consist of the Lieutenant-Governor, six or nine official members, and from thirty to thirty-five elected members. Every burgher of the late Republic is entitled to vote for the First Volksraad, and any white British subject occupying premises of the annual value of £10, or capital value of £100, or earning £100 a year, may vote. Debates are to be in English, but by the President's leave any member may speak in Dutch.

A petition has been forwarded to the King praying that the safeguarding of native interests in the new Constitution may be secured.

The number of whites employed on the Rand at the end of last year was 16,276. The value of the output of minerals and precious stones for the half year ending December 31 has been estimated at £9,634,453. The number of Chinese employed in April last was upwards of 34,000.

Lord Selborne reached Pretoria from Bloemfontein on May 23, having been met on the frontier by Sir A. Lawley. He was sworn in as Governor and High Commissioner. The next day he was entertained at a banquet where the gathering was thoroughly representative of the whole of the Colony.

CAPE COLONY.—Lord Selborne, the High Commissioner for South Africa, arrived at Cape Town on May 16, and was well received.

A revenue of £8,880,000 and an expenditure of £8,802,000 has been estimated for next year.

In the House of Assembly a Loan Bill for £662,000 has been passed. Parliament has been prorogued until September 8.

WEST AFRICA AND NIGERIA.—The Amir of Hadagia, in Northern Nigeria, has submitted. This is one of the results of the journey lately made by General Sir Frederick Lugard.

Yenema, the headquarters of the chief Kafura, who was the instigator of the raids by the Kissi tribes in the Panguma district, has been destroyed by the expedition under Major Palmer.

AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH.—The letter postage from England to Australia has been since April 1 last reduced from 2½d. to 1d., and from Australia to England from 2½d. to 2d. the half-ounce.

The Federal Government has accepted the Orient Pacific's amended offer of a fortnightly mail service at an annual cost of £120,000, subject to the approval of Parliament.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—Good rains have fallen in the Colony and also in the northern portions of Victoria.

The number of sheep in the State has been computed at 33,838,000, as compared with 28,656,501 in the previous year.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The Ministry has been modified as follows: Mr. H. Daglish, Premier and Treasurer; Mr. W. D. Johnson, Mines and Railways; Mr. J. M. Drew, Colonial Secretary and Agriculture; Mr. R. Hastie, Justice and Labour; Mr. J. H. Bath, Lands and Education; Mr. P. J. Lynch, Public Works; Mr. W. C. Angwin, without portfolio.

NEW ZEALAND.—A surplus of £761,000 for the last financial year is announced.

CANADA.—Last year 45,000 Americans settled in the Dominion. This year it is expected that 60,000 more, mostly farmers, will do so.

The Dominion Government intend to spend £600,000 in fortifying the city of Quebec.

The British Columbia Legislature has again passed an anti-Japanese Bill. Mr. Frank Oliver has become Minister of the Interior.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The Bait Act has been enforced against American as well as French fishermen.

The Legislature was opened on March 31. In a speech from the Throne, Sir William MacGregor congratulated the Colony upon the material advance made during the last four years, the annual balance of trade in favour of the Colony now exceeding \$1,250,000.

In a Blue-Book prepared by Sir W. MacGregor, he stated that the total trade of the Colony for the year 1903-1904 amounted per head of the population to \$88.135 (£18 1s. 10d.), exports to \$46.141, and imports to \$41.994.

The revenue for the fiscal year ended June, 1904, amounted to \$2,513,633, and the expenditure to \$2,393,286, leaving a surplus of \$120,347. The public debt amounted to \$20,000,000 in June, 1904, and has since been



increased by \$2,250,000. The estimated revenue for the year ended June, 1905, is \$2,500,000, and the expenditure \$2,460,000, leaving an estimated surplus of \$40,000, after setting aside a sum of \$65,000 for unforeseen purposes. For the fiscal year ending June, 1906, the revenue is estimated at \$2,498,000, and the expenditure at \$2,470,000. The result of last season's seal fishery was a total of 177,206 seals, valued at \$240,890 (£48,180), as compared with 284,473 seals, valued at £80,740, in the former year.

The Legislature was prorogued on June 15.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded this past quarter of Sir Edward Fleet Alford, sometime chairman of the Shanghai General Chambers of Commerce;—Mr. Clinton Baker, barrister under the Sudan Administration at Khartum;—Hon. Lieutenant Cyrus George Horlick, Indian Army Department;—Captain George Manley Alldridge, R.N., retired (coasts of Asia Minor, etc.);—Sir Alfred Jerome Cadman, Speaker of the New Zealand Legislative Council;—The Right Hon. Sir Charles Adderley, K.C.M.G., first Baron Norton, sometime Under-Secretary for the Colonies, President of the Board of Trade, etc.;—Lieutenant-Colonel Henry William Alex. Mackinnon, D.S.O., A.M.S., retired (Egyptian war 1883, Burmese expedition 1885-86); Captain Edmund Barker van Koughnet, C.M.G., R.N., retired (Canadian Lakes 1867-68, Nile expedition 1884);—Colonel B. C. Graves, C.B., R.A. (Afghan war 1879-80, North-west Frontier and Tirah campaigns 1897-98);—Mr. Robert Waller, one of the very few survivors of the prisoners taken by Akbar Khan in Afghanistan in 1842;—Lady Durand, widow of General Sir H. M. Durand, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjāb;—Major-General Samuel Peters Jarvis, C.M.G., a former commandant of the Ontario Rifles, and Commandant-General of the Forces at the Cape (Indian mutiny);—Mr. W. C. Howard, of Allahabad, a volunteer in the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry during the Mutiny;—Mr. H. Slade, Conservator of Forests (Burma and Siam);—The Hon. Sir David Tennant, K.C.M.G., for thirty years member of the Legislative Assembly, Cape Colony, and afterwards Agent-General for the Colony in London;—Mr. Henry H. J. Pearse, a war correspondent;—General Frederick Gaspar Le Grand, R.M.L.I., retired (Sevastopol, Zulu war, Alexandria 1882);—Colonel John Robert Fairlie, late Madras Cavalry (Mutiny campaign);—Captain F. C. Turner (Crimean campaign, Indian mutiny 1857-58);—Captain James Muscroft, 2nd Battalion 1st Gurkha Rifles, killed in the earthquake at Dharmasala (Tochi Field Force 1897-98, Ogden Somalis [Juba-land] 1901);—Sir John Budd Phear, Judge High Court of Calcutta 1864-76, and Chief Justice of Ceylon 1876-79;—Mr. C. W. Loxton, I.C.S., killed in the earthquake at Dharmasala;—also at the same time Captain Stanley Clay, 7th Gurkha Rifles (Manipur expedition 1891, Lushai expedition 1896, Vaziristan and North-West Frontier 1901-02);—General Lord Chelmsford, G.C.B., G.C.V.O. (Crimea, Mutiny, Abyssinia 1868, Kafir and Zulu wars 1878-79);—General Sir William Frederick Traill-Burroughs, K.C.B., colonel of the

Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders (Crimea, Mutiny campaign, Umbeyla Pass 1863-64);—Lord David Kennedy, formerly captain in 1st Madras Cavalry);—Mr. John Lowis, Government advocate and member of the Legislative Council of Burma;—Lieutenant-Colonel R. Thompson, retired staff-paymaster (Indian mutiny);—Mr. Maurice King, P.W.D., retired;—Mr. Henry Benedict Medlicott, late Director of the Geological Survey of India;—Major James S. Richards, 96th Berar Infantry;—Mr. Felix Martin Levi, in the earthquake at Dharmasala;—Sir Richard Temple Rennie, sometime Chief Justice Supreme Court at Shanghai, and the Consular Court at Constantinople;—Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Martindale Temple, late Indian Political Department, served in Kelat, Bikanir, Khurasan, and Sistan;—Sir Neale Porter, for twenty-six years in the Colonial Service, holding administrative appointments in Anguilla, Antigua, Dominica, Montserrat, the Leeward Islands, and Jamaica;—Mr. Lessar, the Russian minister at Peking;—Mr. Alexander Anderson, C.I.E., Commissioner of the Lahore Division;—Sir Hugh Low, G.C.M.G., formerly administrator of the Government of Labuan, and afterwards British Resident at Perak;—Mr. Henry Pendock St. George Tucker, a former member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay;—Monsignor Usse, formerly Roman Catholic Bishop of Burma;—M. Pilinski, French Consul-General at Calcutta;—Dr. J. E. Dutton (in the Congo), a well-known expert of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine;—Nawab Akbar-ul-Mulk, Commissioner of Police, Haiderabad (Mutiny, Abyssinian campaign);—Trumpet-Major Roberts Kells, v.c., Sergeant-Yeoman of the Guard (Indian mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Floyd Bonham, D.S.O., Essex Regiment, British military attaché, Paris (Ladysmith Relief Force, 1899-1900);—Major-General Francis Barry Drew, C.B., late 14th West Yorkshire Regiment (Afghan war, 1878-79);—Lieutenant-Colonel Leonard Howard Loyd Irby (Crimea, Mutiny campaign);—Mr. Frederick Lincoln, a volunteer at the siege of Lucknow;—Sir Robert S. W. Herbert, G.C.B., Premier of Queensland, 1860-65, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies 1870, Permanent Under-Secretary 1871-91, Agent-General for Tasmania 1894-96;—Rear-Admiral Henry Phelps (Kafir war 1834-35, St. Jean d'Acre 1840, China war 1842, River Plate 1848, Crimea);—Colonel E. Blaksley, late R.A. (Afghan war 1879);—Colonel Dods, East India Company's Service, late Bombay Staff Corps (Multan);—Hon. W. H. L. Impey, C.S.I., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to Government United Provinces and member Legislative Council;—Mr. Robert Charles Stevenson, late Burma Commission and Deputy Commissioner of Mergui;—Raja Jai Kishen Das, C.S.I., a notable figure of native society in the United Provinces;—the Nawab Shams-i-Jahān Begum, C.I.E., of Murshidabad, widow of the Nawab Nazim of Bengal;—Colonel E. M. Larminie, formerly R.E. (Afghan war 1879);—Captain J. G. Crosthwaite, land revenue settlement Dera Ismail Khan district;—Baba Sir Khem Singh Bedi, K.C.I.E., high-priest of the Sikh community and fourteenth spiritual head of the Sikhs by direct descent from the founder of their faith, Guru Nanak Shah;—Sir James Carroll, R.N., 1871-87 (Ashanti war);—Dr. Mizzi, a well-known leader in Maltese

local politics ;—Mr. Robert Charles Stevenson, an accomplished Burmese scholar ;—Sir Francis Ringler Drummond-Hay, Consular Service (Constantinople, Cairo, Crete, and Tripoli) ;—Rev. J. Hudson Taylor, founder of the China Inland Mission in 1865 ;—Major-General Brydges Robinson Branfill, East India Company's Service ;—Colonel C. W. Godfrey, formerly of the Bombay Artillery, afterwards of the Revenue Survey ;—Major Edwin Doherty Delmege, Madras Supply and Transport Corps ;—Right Rev. James Bellord, formerly Roman Catholic army chaplain (Zulu war 1879, Boer war 1881, Egyptian war 1882) ;—Lieutenant-General Robert William Lowry, C.B., Colonel Princess Charlotte of Wales's (Royal Berkshire) Regiment and Knight of Grace of St. John of Jerusalem (Eastern campaign 1854-55) ;—Moulvie Sayyid Shahab-ud-din, Sajjāda, Sirāj-ul-Ulemā, a well-known 'Alim of Bangalore and a great Arabic and Persian scholar ;—Surgeon-General J. Warren, late Army Medical Staff (Afghan war 1878-80, Egyptian war 1882, Sudan campaign 1885) ;—Colonel C. Slaughter, R.M.L.I. (Mexico 1861, Chinese campaign) ;—Captain Charles Vernon Anson, R.N. (suppression of slave-trade in the Persian Gulf and South-East coast of Africa) ;—Mr. Alfred Lloyd Vandyke Ewbank, late principal of Patna College and Fellow of Calcutta University ;—Lieutenant Richard Anketell-Jones, 6th Dragoon Guards (South African war) ;—General Sir Julius Richard Glyn, K.C.B., colonel commandant of the Rifle Brigade (Orange River 1848, Kafaria 1851, Crimea, Indian campaigns 1857-59) ;—Major William Arthur Boulnois, R.A., Governor of the Bahr-al-Ghazal province under the Egyptian Government ;—Lieutenant Evelyn Routh Udall of the 36th Sikhs at Peshawar (South African war) ;—Admiral the Hon. George Henry Douglas (coasts of Syria 1840, Sumatra 1844, Baltic 1834-55) ;—Commander Arthur W. Chitty, C.I.E. (Persian war 1856-57, China 1860-61, etc.) ;—Mr. Protap Chunder Muzumdar, leader of the Brahmo Samaj, a celebrated Hindu social and religious reformer. Captain Edward Stuart Beglie (Mutiny).

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HYDERABAD : PAST AND PRESENT.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR DAVID BARR, K.C.S.I.

HYDERABAD is rightly held to be the premier Native State in India. Its area, including the assigned districts of Berar, is about 100,000 square miles, or considerably larger than England, Wales, and Scotland combined. The population is about 12,000,000, and the revenue approximates £3,000,000. The State next in size and importance is Mysore, with an area of 30,000 square miles, a population of 5,000,000, and a revenue of £1,500,000. I do not propose to do more than to touch briefly upon the earlier history of the Hyderabad State. The ruined fort of Golconda, about seven miles from the city of Hyderabad, bears testimony to the Bahmani and Qut'b Shahi dynasties, which ruled the Deccan for nearly 400 years before the invasion of the Moghuls. In the reign of Mahmúd Shah, the fourteenth Bahmani Emperor, about A.D. 1490, Sultan Quli Khan became an *Amir*, with the title of Qut'b-ul Mulk, receiving as his *jagir* Golconda and the surrounding country. In 1512 Qut'b-ul Mulk threw off his allegiance to the waning power of the Bahmani Empire, and proclaimed himself an independent Sovereign of the territory which he had hitherto ruled in the Emperor's name. He took the title of Sultan Quli

Qut'b Shah, and made Golconda his capital. The Kings of Golconda of the Qut'b Shadi Dynasty ruled the Deccan for upwards of 175 years. The last of the line was Abu-l-Hassan, whose gallant defence of the fort of Golconda during the eight months of its siege by the Emperor Aurungzeb, in A.D. 1687, still lives as one of the greatest episodes in the history of the Deccan. Golconda fell into the hands of the Moghul conquerer, and Abu-l-Hassan, who surrendered himself to Aurungzeb, was sent as a State prisoner to Daulatabad, where he was treated with honour and indulgence till his death. The spoils of Golconda were enormous; they are estimated at from £70,000,000 to £80,000,000 in gold and silver, besides large quantities of jewels and plate. And here I would remark that Golconda, famous for the accumulation of treasure during the Qut'b Shahi Dynasty, is not the place where the far-famed diamonds were found, though visitors to Hyderabad make frequent tender inquiries for Golconda diamonds. I believe I am right in saying that the diamond-fields were, and still are to be, found in the delta of the rivers Kistna and Tungabudra, distant 150 miles at least from the fort of Golconda. But all the territories ruled by the Kings of Golconda were called by that name, and the fort was the depository of the famous stones.

The city of Hyderabad was founded by Muhammad Quli Qut'b Shah, the fourth King of the dynasty, and was first called Bhagnagar, after the King's favourite Hindu mistress, Bhagmati. The name was changed adventitiously to Hyderabad; it was not given in honour of Hyder Ali, as some suppose. The State gradually lost its old appellation of Golconda, and long before the Moghul conquest it was known only as Hyderabad, and as such was afterwards governed, as an appanage of the Moghul Empire, by delegates from the Court of Delhi.

Kam'r-ud-din, the founder of the ruling family of the Nizams of Hyderabad, was appointed Subedar of the Deccan by the Emperor of Delhi in A.D. 1713, with the

title of Nizam-ul-Mulk. He, following the example of the first of the Qut'b Shahi Kings, threw off his allegiance to the Empire, and established himself as an independent ruler of the territories in his charge. Asaf Jah died in 1748, and was succeeded by his second son, Nasir Jung, in the absence of his eldest son, Ghazi-ud-din, who was holding high office at the Court of Delhi. The claims of Nasir Jung were disputed by Muzaffar Jung, his nephew, with the support of Dupleix, the Governor of the French settlements, who saw in the establishment, through his influence, of Muzaffar Jung as Subedar of the Deccan a means of securing the ascendancy of the French in India. The support which Muzaffar Jung received from the French was, in those times, of itself sufficient reason to induce the English to lend their aid to Nasir Jung. Muzaffar Jung fell into the hands of his uncle, by whom he was imprisoned; but in the following year, after the murder of Nasir Jung by Pathan rebels, he was released, and, with the support of the French, assumed the authority of Subedar.

After his accession Muzaffar Jung received into his service a body of French troops under the command of Bussy, and assigned to the French large territories near Pondicherry, the province of Karikal, and the town and district of Madras. He was soon after killed in a mutiny of his troops. His only son being a minor, Salabat Jung, the third son of Asaf Jah, was placed in power by the influence of the French. On the outbreak of the war between France and England in 1756, the French were driven out of the Northern Sircars by an English force. Salabat Jung advanced to oppose the English, but did not feel himself strong enough to risk a battle without the aid of his French auxiliaries, who had been recalled by Count Lally. He accordingly concluded a treaty in 1759 with the English.\* This was the opening of our relations with the State of Hyderabad, and marks an era in the history of

\* Aitchison, vol. viii.

the Nizams. Salabat Jung was deposed in 1761 by his younger brother, Nizam Ali Khan, and died two years afterwards in prison.

One of the most interesting chapters in the history of Hyderabad deals with the period when British relations were cemented by the treaties negotiated by Major James Achilles Kirkpatrick, who was then Resident at the Court of Nizam Ali Khan. During the lapse of 100 years the services of this remarkable man have been forgotten ; and before dealing with the subject of Hyderabad of the present day, it may be interesting to recall some of the facts connected with his tenure of the post of Resident at Hyderabad, because our present relations with the State hinge on the conditions made by him at a time of trouble and danger to our power in India.

James Achilles Kirkpatrick was a Company's officer who, almost by chance, succeeded his brother, Colonel William Kirkpatrick, as Resident at Hyderabad when the latter was compelled by ill-health to leave India in 1796.

There is an article in the July number of *Blackwood*, 1893, written by the late Sir Edward Strachey, entitled "The Romantic Marriage of Major James Achilles Kirkpatrick, sometime British Resident at the Court of Hyderabad." The story therein told is very striking. It deals with the loves of the British Resident and a young and beautiful Indian lady, the daughter of one of the nobles of the Nizam's Court. We are told that Kirkpatrick was sitting alone in the Residency one evening, when an old lady was brought in a palanquin to the house and demanded an interview. She was the grandmother of the young Begum Khair-un-nissa, and she told Kirkpatrick how her granddaughter had seen him and loved him, and was determined to marry him, and that she had come as an emissary to arrange this marriage. Kirkpatrick refused to listen to the old lady, who with much difficulty was persuaded to leave the Residency. But a few evenings later another palanquin was brought to the house, and from

it stepped the young Begum, who threw herself at the feet of the astonished Resident, and declared that her affections had been irrevocably fixed on him for some time, that her fate was linked to his, and that she would be content to pass her days with him as the humblest of handmaids. The result of this extraordinary meeting was that the Resident sought the hand of the Begum Khair-un-nissa from the Nizam, who communicated the request to the young lady's father, who after much demur gave his consent to the marriage, stipulating that the rite should be performed in accordance with the customs of the Muhammadan faith. To this Nizam Ali Khan assented. His Highness also announced that he would stand as father, during the marriage ceremony, to Major Kirkpatrick, whom he styled as his "son united to him in the bonds of love," and on whom he bestowed the title of Hashmat Jung (Glorious in Battle), and that the Minister, who is referred to in the article in *Blackwood* as Aristo Jah, though Azam-ul-Umrah is probably meant, should stand in a like capacity as the father of the bride. The preliminaries to the marriage had proceeded thus far, when Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General, having been informed that the Resident had turned Muhammadan, and was using force and violence in pressing his suit, called upon Major Kirkpatrick for a report on the whole matter. Kirkpatrick repudiated the idea of any dishonourable conduct on his part, and placed his resignation in the hands of the Governor-General. Lord Wellesley wrote more than one letter censuring the Resident's conduct, both for acting in a manner injurious to the public interest and also for his concealment of what he had done. In a letter dated May, 1802, he declares his final resolve to remove Kirkpatrick from his office. But Lord Wellesley understood the value of Kirkpatrick's public services too well to wish to lose them at a place where his personal influence was so great, and at a time when the Governor-General's policy was practically centred at Hyderabad. Threats of removal



were withdrawn, with handsome expressions of the Governor-General's sense of the great public services of Major Kirkpatrick, and the promise that the King should be asked to give him the honour of a baronetcy.

The marriage was not publicly celebrated, but the contract was made in the presence of witnesses, and the ceremony of *nikah* was performed. Sir Edward Strachey tells us that there is a legend in the family that there was also a Christian marriage. He adds: "I have myself found no reference to such a marriage, and Kirkpatrick gives as a reason why his children had not been christened that there was no chaplain at Hyderabad." In any case, the Muhammadan marriage was valid in English law, as Sir Henry Russell, the Chief Justice of Bengal, told his son, who was Kirkpatrick's assistant and subsequent successor at Hyderabad.

There is no doubt that Kirkpatrick and his wife lived happily at Hyderabad. He built a palace for her adjoining the Residency, where she dwelt in all the seclusion of the zenana, but surrounded by the magnificence of a Court. This palace, which was called Rang-mahal, was demolished by Sir George Yule, who was Resident at Hyderabad from 1863 to 1867, and all that remain as memories of the Begum Khair-un-nissa are some beautiful trees which she planted, the floors and courtyard of her palace, and a few handsomely carved fountains, all of which are now enclosed in a garden, still called the Rang-mahal.

Kirkpatrick and his wife left Hyderabad in 1805, and lived for some years at Calcutta, where their tombs are to be seen in one of the old cemeteries. They had two children: a son who died young, and a daughter named Katherine Aurora, who married Major Phillips, of the 7th Hussars, and died in the Isle of Wight at the age of eighty-seven in 1889. This lady is referred to in Carlyle's "Reminiscences" as "Kitty Kirkpatrick," and in his "Sartor Resartus" as "Blumine," a type of all that is beautiful, witty, and wise in womanhood. It may be

easily imagined that Kirkpatrick's influence with the Nizam of Hyderabad was of an unusual character, and it is to this, more than anything else, that we must ascribe the great success of the Resident in negotiating the treaties concluded with Hyderabad during the years 1798-1804. These provided for the protection of the State by the British; the establishment of a garrison of horse, foot, and artillery at Secunderabad, the cost of which, in perpetuity, was met by the cession of a large area of land, now included under the Madras Presidency, and known as the Ceded Districts; the expulsion of the French levies; the deportation of French officers from Hyderabad; and commercial arrangements limiting the Nizam's power to levy duty on goods in transit through his State.

It must be remembered that Kirkpatrick's tenure of the post of Resident at Hyderabad was coincident with that period of Indian history when Lord Wellesley was fighting the French in Southern India, the Mahrattas in the Deccan, and Tippoo in Mysore. The plan of campaign which the Governor-General had in view was to use the Nizam and the Mahrattas against Tippu, and to crush the power of the French in Southern India. How ably Kirkpatrick assisted the Governor-General in this policy is recorded in history; but there is one incident still held up for admiration by the people of Hyderabad as indicative of his bold and resolute character.

The State of Hyderabad was not strong enough to maintain itself without foreign aid; it had hitherto been protected by a large military contingent of French officers and under French discipline. But Nizam Ali Khan's Minister, Ázam-ul-Umrah, advised his master that the English would be his best allies; and Major Kirkpatrick was able to negotiate the treaties already alluded to, by one of which a British subsidiary force was to take the place of the French contingent, which was to be disbanded, and its officers arrested. But at the last moment the Nizam and his Minister wavered, and Kirkpatrick, with the judgment

of a statesman and the prompt action of a soldier, himself ordered the advance of the British sepoy who had been already assembled, and arrested the French officers, who were well treated and sent back to France. Many of the descendants of the French are still to be found in Hyderabad, and there is a tomb raised to the memory of M. Raymond, one of the most popular and efficient of the French officers, which has become a place of pilgrimage to many of the Muhammadans of Hyderabad, who have never forgotten the name and the history of the distinguished soldier who lies buried there.

We owe to Major Kirkpatrick the beautiful building which is still occupied as the Residency at Hyderabad. It was planned and designed by him, and conceived in a very liberal spirit. Kirkpatrick, like his chief, Lord Wellesley, loved Oriental grandeur, and persuaded himself that such magnificence gave real importance to Englishmen with native Courts and people. It was with this design that he built the Residency, and sent to Madras for an architect acquainted with all forms of European architecture, and for skilled masons and carpenters who could instruct and direct the Hyderabad workmen. He showed his own practical knowledge by his specifications as to brickwork and the framing of very large beams. The palace—for such the Residency was, and it still preserves its main features—has a hall 60 feet long, 30 feet wide, and 40 feet high. It is approached by a terrace with thirty-two granite steps leading up to a broad portico. It is described as standing in a park a mile in circumference, with a lake round which was a gravel walk with a row of lamps; a garden with all the fruits of Hindustan and of Europe; and a paddock filled with deer. Besides the apartments in the Residency allotted to his personal use, there were well-built houses in the park for the Resident's escort and his band, and also for natives who there took refuge under British protection.

Kirkpatrick's official income was large, but could not

have provided for the cost of these buildings. Indeed, he mentions in a letter describing the Residency that "the cost had been defrayed by the liberality of the Nizam Ali Khan, his father by adoption," but his own expenditure in keeping up such an establishment was lavish, as is shown in his instructions to friends or agents at home or in Bombay, Madras, or Calcutta. While he hesitated whether to make his great hall 50 or 60 feet by 30 feet, he ordered a Wilton carpet of the lesser size, and then, on deciding for the greater length of the hall, ordered a second carpet for the larger floor. He requests his brother William, then in England, to lay out £500 on a reflecting telescope, 12 or 14 feet in length, as an ornament to his terrace, in the use of which he expects to be sufficiently instructed by one of his staff who was the son of the Professor of Astronomy in Edinburgh. He sends for chemical and electrical apparatus of large dimensions for the amusement of the grown-up children at Hyderabad. He gives a commission for 100 of the best Chinese lamps, and several thousand smaller ones for illumination, such as native Princes still delight in, with no limitations but that the cost shall not ruin him. He sends for the finest kinds of European orange-trees, which he thinks will be found in Portugal. He desires a friend to find and engage an English bandmaster for him. He acknowledges the receipt of an elk and an Abyssinian goat as welcome additions to his paddock.

Of this magnificence as it was seen by Mountstuart Elphinstone and Edward Strachey (described by Kirkpatrick as "two superior young men passing through Hyderabad on their way to Poona") we have a record in Elphinstone's diary of September, 1801: "Went to the Durbar. Major Kirkpatrick goes in great state. He has several elephants, and a state palanquin, led horses, flags, long poles with tassels, etc., and is attended by two companies of infantry and a troop of cavalry." One cannot help smiling at this account of the Oriental splendour of the Resident at

Hyderabad a hundred years ago, and comparing it with the smaller amenities enjoyed by his successor of the present day, when easements such as those accepted by Major Kirkpatrick would be regarded as evidence of corrupt practices.

But India in the days when the pagoda-tree flourished was very different from India of the present time, and Kirkpatrick's mode of living at the Court of the Nizam was doubtless very much the same as that adopted by other representatives of the growing power of the English in India. Hyderabad was torn with internal dissensions, harassed by warfare, and a prey to marauders. The State was threatened on all sides—by the French, the English, the Mahrattas, and by the incursions of Tippu. There were no roads and no means of communication. Villages were despoiled, large tracts of land laid waste, and the State was periodically given up to plunder by one or other of the belligerent forces. Seringapatam fell, and Tippu was killed in the defence of his stronghold in 1799; but it was not until 1803 that the first severe check was administered to the Mahrattas by Wellington's victories at Argaum and Assaye, and for many years after those events disorder reigned supreme at Hyderabad, for even so late as August, 1815, we read of a column of troops being defeated with heavy loss in an attempt to put down an outbreak within the city, brought about by a faction fight between two of the Nizam's sons, whose armed rabble fought for several hours, until troops from the Residency intervened, when apparently both sides joined to overthrow the peacemakers, who retired, leaving their leader, Captain John Darby, of the Resident's escort, and many of his men, dead in the streets of Hyderabad.

The marvel is that Hyderabad, or, indeed, any other State in India, preserved its autonomy during those troublous times. That they survived, and that rulers of weak and barbarous character, as many were in those days, were maintained on their *musnads*, must be ascribed to the in-

domitable courage, the tact, and the influence (however it may have been acquired) of the political officers, who, like Kirkpatrick and many of his successors at Hyderabad, were left to act on their own initiative and to exercise those principles of brave decision combined with courteous insistence which have been, and always will be, the attributes of English gentlemen endeavouring to uphold the honour of England in isolated places and in times of peril.

With this glimpse of Hyderabad of a hundred years ago, let us turn to a consideration of Hyderabad of to-day. The first thing that strikes us is the wonderful fertility of the country and the peace and order pervading all parts of the State. It must be remembered that the population is chiefly Hindu, and that only one-tenth of the 12,000,000 are Muhammadans. The State is divided for purposes of administration into two districts, known as Telingána and Mahratwára. Telingána comprises the southern and eastern parts of the State. It is a land of lakes and tanks, well irrigated, and producing large crops of rice, sugarcane, and cereals. It is watered by innumerable affluents of the rivers Tungabudra and Kistna, which form the southern boundary of the State, and, uniting at Karnul, flow in a broad stream, known as the Kistna, into the Bay of Bengal, near Masulipatam. Large tracts of this district are under forest; the population is sparse, and there is still a vast opening for cultivation of land which, for more than a hundred years, has been deserted and given over to jungle. It is in this portion of Hyderabad territory that strenuous efforts have been made of late years under able English engineers to renew irrigation works, such as anicuts, canals, and reservoirs, built at great cost in the time of the ancient dynasties. Some idea of the possibilities of irrigation in this area may be formed from the fact that outlays of from two to three lacs of rupees have proved adequate to the complete restoration of works which must have cost from ten to fifteen lacs originally, and which yield under very light assessment more than 20 per cent.

on the charges for their repairs. The Nizam's Government are wisely and economically spending from twenty-five to thirty lacs a year on these irrigation works, with results that have already proved most beneficial, and with good promise of large profits in the future.

The districts known as Mahratwára form the northern and western portions of the State. The land is higher and drier than in Telingána, and produces cotton, oil-seeds, and *jowar*, which is the staple food of the country. It is comparatively devoid of water-storage in the shape of lakes, but it is a pleasant country, with a larger population, better cultivation, and freer from jungle and waste-land than Telingána. It is watered by the Godaveri and its tributaries, and includes that portion of the Deccan proper which was held by the Moghuls during the invasion of Aurungzeb, whose tomb is to be seen at Roza, near the famous cave temples of Ellora, and whose name is perpetuated in the town of Aurungabad.

The system of administration in Hyderabad compares favourably with that of other Native States. For revenue purposes the State is divided into *tehsils*, *talukas*, and *subahs*. There is a secretary for each of the Departments—Finance, Revenue, Judicial (including police and gaols), and Military. There is a Cabinet Council of Nobles of the State, each member holding one of the departmental portfolios. The Council is presided over by the Minister, to whom, as the executive head of the Government, considerable powers are assigned. The Council is subordinate to His Highness the Nizam, who is the final authority in all matters of administration.

Hyderabad is now well served by railways. The Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway Company, which has hitherto been supported by a guarantee of 4 per cent. from the State on its capital—a guarantee which is about to expire in respect of the main line—has constructed a railway from Wadi, on the G.I.P., to Hyderabad, 124 miles; from Hyderabad to Bezwada to the south, 140 miles; and from

Hyderabad to Manmar to the north and west. This latter is a narrow-gauge railway, which passes through the Godaveri valley, tapping the important towns of Nander, Aurungabad, and Jalna, a total distance of 360 miles.

The mineral resources of Hyderabad are extensive and valuable. Coal, iron, and gold undoubtedly exist over large areas. The Hyderabad Deccan Mining Company have worked the Singaréni coalfield successfully for the past twenty-five years, and a very promising goldfield has lately been opened at Hutti under the auspices of this company. The Nizam's Government has also under consideration other mining enterprises, which should very soon be commenced, with every hope of a successful future.

The finances of the State have always been a source of anxiety. It is satisfactory to notice that considerable improvement in this important branch of the administration has lately set in. Three years ago His Highness the Nizam obtained the services of Mr. Casson Walker, of the Punjab Commission, as his financial adviser. The result has been most advantageous. The assets of the State are better by more than a crore of rupees than they were three years ago ; several lacs of the old State debts have been cleared off, and savings have been effected under various heads of expenditure. By inviting Mr. Walker to remain, with extended powers, for a further period of three years in the service of the State, His Highness has shown how thoroughly he appreciates the excellent work accomplished.

Ever since the Government of India closed their mints to the coinage of silver, the currency of Native States has been thrown into confusion ; and Hyderabad has suffered more in this respect than any other State in India. Its old currency was the Halli Sicca rupee, which bore to the rupee of British India an intrinsic value at a ratio of 116 Halli Sicca to 100 Government. The fluctuations in the State currency for the past ten years have been most



disastrous to trade. The Halli Sicca rupee at one time rose in exchange value to 106, and at another fell—and within six months—to 135. Measures have been taken for placing the currency on a sound footing. A new mint has been established with complete machinery, and placed under the charge of a capable English mechanic. The mint is now turning out daily two lacs of a new and well-designed rupee, as also one lac of copper money, and we may look forward with confidence to the maintenance of a stable rate of exchange between the Halli Sicca and the British Government rupee, which will obviate those sharp fluctuations which, in past years, have proved so injurious to the interest of the mercantile community and to the subjects of the State at large.

Hyderabad is without question one of the handsomest cities in India. It is situated on the south bank of the river Moosi, which is spanned by three fine stone bridges; it is enclosed by a wall, and is entered by four main gateways. It covers a large area, and contains some fine buildings, the chief of which are the Delhi Mosque, the Jama Musjid, the Charminar, and the palaces of His Highness the Nizam and of many of his nobles, each standing in its own large enclosure with fortified walls and projecting bastions. Some of these enclosures contain fine trees, well-laid-out gardens, and sparkling fountains. The city is very carefully designed. The four main roads meet at the Charminar, which is in the centre of the town, and consists of four minarets, about 200 feet in height, standing on a domed archway 50 feet high. The streets in some parts of the town are narrow, with houses on each side three or four stories in height; but in other parts the roads are broad, level, and well laid. The whole city is drained and kept in excellent order. The cautions "Keep to the left" and "Drive slowly," which are seen in many places printed in English and also in Urdu, are very necessary, for the city is thronged with wheeled traffic of every description, from the equipages of nobles (English-built

landaus drawn by fine Australian horses) to the humble *ekka*, and it is no uncommon thing to meet eight or ten processions with elephants, camels, and a cavalcade of sowars in each, indicating the progress of some noble on his way to call on a friend or to attend a durbar at the palace. The city is always full of people, but on market-days, held on Sunday in each week, it is thronged with immense crowds, and presents the most picturesque and striking spectacle. Two-thirds of the population of Hyderabad are armed, and carry matchlocks, shields, and daggers. About 10,000 of the Nizam's irregular troops—Pathans, Arabs, and Africans—are quartered in the town, and are to be seen at all times dressed in the most fantastic costumes, and, whether mounted or on foot, armed with swords and lances.

The population of Hyderabad and its suburbs is 450,000. Ranking next to Madras in numbers, Hyderabad is considerably larger than any of the cities of Northern India. Some years ago it was considered dangerous for Englishmen to pass through Hyderabad without an escort, and even now it is necessary for visitors to obtain permission before entering its limits, and for a notice of their advent to be sent to the municipal authorities. But I must say that I know no town in India where peace and order are better maintained than at Hyderabad. During my five years' residence I heard of no single case of violence or riot, even during such trying periods as the Muhárram, or the festivals of the many *Ids*, which are celebrated with the greatest *éclat* at Hyderabad. The police arrangements are excellent, and reflect great credit on the late Commissioner Akbar-ul-Mulk, C.S.I., of whose death after forty-five years' service I have heard with much regret since my return to England.

The greatest feature of Hyderabad is the scenery. The city is surrounded by hills, which are covered with vegetation and studded with large flat-topped masses of stone of quaint and fantastic shape. Trees grow to a large size,

and the city and its suburbs are full of magnificent specimens of the banyan, pipal, and mango.

Separating Hyderabad from Secunderabad lies the Hussan Sagar, an artificial lake some fifteen miles in circumference, along one side of which runs the railway connecting Hyderabad with the Great Indian Peninsula. The dam of this lake is about 2 miles in length, 60 feet in height, and 200 feet in breadth. Its surface forms one of the most beautiful drives to be found in India. It is the main thoroughfare between the city and the cantonment, and on fine evenings in the cold weather it is difficult to imagine a more picturesque view than that to be obtained from the Hussan Sagar Dam, with the sun setting over the city, throwing a glow over the water and bringing out in silhouette the towers and minarets of Hyderabad, and the sharp outline of Golconda Fort as a background. To the south is another beautiful lake, constructed and named after Mir Alam, the famous Minister of the State in the years 1802-1808. This lake lies among the hills at a considerable elevation above the city, to which it provides an ample and pure supply of water, carried by a system of iron pipes to every part of the town.

The Residency, built by Major Kirkpatrick, lies at a short distance from the city, on the north bank of the Moosi River, and stands in a park more than a mile in circumference, surrounded by a wall with fortified gateways. The frontage of the Residency is not less than 200 yards; the centre contains the famous hall, with spacious dining and reception rooms and offices on each side on the ground-floor, and two sets of bedrooms above. Two wings have been added since Kirkpatrick's day; each contains two fine suites of rooms. The offices and public buildings are at the back of the Residency, and within the walls surrounding the park are the houses occupied by the assistants to the Resident, the barracks for the escort (250 native infantry and 40 sabres), the stables, and the post and telegraph offices. But perhaps the most interesting spot within the

grounds is the cemetery, which contains the tombs of thirty-three of the former occupants of the Residency. Some of these graves are more than a hundred years old, and there are monuments to three Residents—Colonel Cuthbert Davidson, Mr. Bushby, and Mr. Roberts—and the tombs of several members of the celebrated firm of Rumbold and Palmer, which financed the State during the period immediately following the Mahratta war, when Chandu Lall was Minister to the Nizam Secunder Jah.

I should like to add a few words as to our present relations with His Highness the Nizam and the administration of the State. With a considerable experience of Native States, and including such important principalities as Kashmir, Gwalior, Indore, Bhopal, Jodhpore, and Rewah, I would say that there is no State in India more dependent upon the advice of the Resident, or more desirous of conforming with the wishes of the Government of India, than is Hyderabad. During the minority of the present Nizam, Mir Mahboob Ali Khan, the State was administered by that distinguished statesman the Nawab Sir Salar Jung, G.C.S.I., to whose ability Hyderabad owes much of its present prosperity, and to whose unswerving loyalty to the Crown of England we are indebted for the safety of the Deccan, and possibly of the whole of Southern India, during the Mutiny of 1857. It was only right and proper that while such a man was at the helm a policy of non-interference with the affairs of State should prevail; and so it came about that the Minister, during the Nizam's minority, was *de facto* ruler of Hyderabad, and that great importance and responsibility were attached to the Minister's office. Sir Salar Jung died before the young Nizam was invested with full ruling powers, and one of the first acts of His Highness on assuming charge of the administration was to appoint Laik Ali, the eldest son of Sir Salar Jung, Minister with the title of Salar Jung the Second. This arrangement, so full of promise at first, did not, for various reasons which it is unnecessary to dwell upon, work well for any length

of time. The Minister resigned, and was succeeded by one of the principal nobles of the Shams-ul-Umra family, Sir Asman Jah, who, after holding office for some five or six years, was replaced by his younger brother, Sir Vikar-ul-Umra, in 1894.

Without entering into details which would be out of place, and might prove wearisome and unprofitable, I think it is sufficient to remark that the glamour which the great ability and administrative talent of Sir Salar Jung threw upon the office of Minister at Hyderabad was perhaps the more direct cause of the failure of his successors; for not one of them was in any way qualified to bear the burden of administration which their great predecessor had borne so efficiently. The natural consequence was that each of these Ministers was, in turn, subjected to the intrigues and machinations of clever, but sometimes unscrupulous, persons, who endeavoured to pluck authority from their hands, and to pose, with more or less success, as moving spirits in a weak and vacillating form of Government. The general result was chaos in the administration, and friction between the Nizam and his Minister.

Another and perhaps still more important result was that the Nizam withdrew himself from public affairs, and in the bewildering circumstances it was perhaps only natural that he should do so. Meanwhile the Resident was looked to as the final arbiter of all matters in dispute, and the only course open to him was to support the Minister so long as possible, and to keep things going until the inevitable catastrophe occurred, when the Minister was changed and a general shuffling of the cards took place. In 1901 the Nizam, wearying of these failures, resolved to assert his authority; and when Sir Vikar-ul-Umra was permitted to resign, His Highness appointed the Peshkar-Maharaja Kishen Pershad, a direct descendant of Chandu Lall, to succeed him. But this change was made on entirely fresh principles, and in marked contrast to precedent. The Minister was no longer to be independent, nor was he to

conduct the administration on his own lines, nor upon lines indicated by other officials ; he was to be the Nizam's executive officer, acting in subordination to His Highness, and referring for orders all matters of importance and all cases in which ambiguity or controversy was involved during discussions in Council. A complete change was at once effected, and it soon became evident to all concerned that the Nizam was by *far* the shrewdest and most capable man in the State, and that he was determined to exercise the functions of a Ruler, not, as hitherto, in name only, but in very deed and with distinct purpose. The results for the last four years have been most happy: intriguers have found their occupation almost gone, and interference with the administration has been relegated to the trivial forms of jealousy, dislike, and backbiting. The more elaborate process of forming parties to support or to obstruct the Minister was found to be of no avail, because the Minister, though exercising the true functions of his office, no longer desired to assert undue authority ; nor had he the power of doing so, even if he wished, because His Highness the Nizam was at last master of the situation, and was recognised as such, not only by his Minister and his officials, but by the subjects of the State.

I had the honour of enjoying the confidence of His Highness the Nizam during my tenure of office as Resident at Hyderabad, and I have full knowledge of his character and ability. I am not so rash as to prophesy what the future of Hyderabad will be, but I am convinced that the State has great possibilities before it, and I have every reason to hope that if the present system of government is maintained, and if His Highness continues to receive that measure of helpful sympathy which has been so freely held out to him by Lord Curzon, and of which he has so readily availed himself, the State of Hyderabad will be wisely governed, and our faithful ally the Nizam will prove himself to be one of the most powerful pillars of the Indian Empire.

## MADRAS IRRIGATION AND NAVIGATION— A REPLY.

By W. HUGHES, M.A., M.I.C.E.

GENERAL FISCHER'S articles, published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of October, 1904, and April and July, 1905, in which he comments in very severe terms on what he considers the failure of the Indian, and more particularly of the Madras, Government in regard to irrigation, communications, the land revenue system, and other matters, will no doubt help to keep these important questions before the public and sustain interest in them ; but, in my opinion, the articles are to a large extent based on incorrect information. General Fischer appears to have long ago got out of touch with Madras affairs. Madras is probably the most progressive province in India. It is not the fact that it is governed in the interests of a priestly caste ; irrigation works and communications are not neglected ; nor is it a fact that practically nothing has been done to improve the condition of the agricultural class since Sir Arthur Cotton left India. The progress made may not have been as rapid as was desirable. The development of the country, as far as it rested with the Government, has always been hindered by financial difficulties. Before Lord Mayo's time each province had to take what it could get and make the best of it, and as the Indian finances were not very prosperous, the assignments were far from sufficient. After the decentralization of the finances, the share of its revenues left to Madras was repeatedly reduced at the quinquennial settlements, and many needed improvements and reforms had to be delayed or postponed.

The subjects discussed by General Fischer cover so wide a range that all that can be done on the present occasion is to notice some of the more salient points, and offer some information on those with which the writer is more specially

conversant. Omitting the statements regarding the revenue system, which are of too general a character to form a subject of discussion, the remainder of the subjects dealt with by General Fischer may be arranged in three classes, viz. :

Maintenance of existing irrigation works ;

Extension of irrigation ;

Communications—roads, railways, and irrigation.

Referring to the writer's article in the *Review* of April, 1904, General Fischer says\* : "Mr. Hughes would have us believe that nothing more can be done for the 40,000 minor works in Madras," and he quotes and accepts as correct a letter of Mr. Ragoonatha Row, in which it is said, "the less interference of the engineers with them (minor irrigation works), the better it is for all concerned. Of late these have been *much neglected*, and the revenue officers do not take one-hundredth part of the interest which their predecessors used to take some twenty or twenty-five years ago. These are *now* in a *very inefficient state*, causing loss to the ryots, and rendering the collection of the Government tax more and more rigorous." There can be no hesitation in characterizing such statements as very incorrect and misleading. To explain how the matter stands with the minor works, it is necessary to go back a little. Under the old native governments the *rayats* were under obligation to carry out *kudi-maramut*—that is, repairs by the cultivators—to an undefined extent. The State also had a certain recognised duty, but its assistance was fitful and unreliable, and probably seldom given, except when some work beyond the power of the villagers was required in order to save the revenue. The East India Company continued the old system, and presumably did what they could to prevent the decay of the works ; but whatever success may have attended their efforts to preserve the larger works, it is clear that the smaller ones were left almost entirely to the care of the *rayats*, who, from a

\* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1904, p. 269.



number of causes, had become greatly impoverished. The reports of the second quarter of the century and later describe the works as generally in a most deplorable condition, apparently as bad as anything which can now be found in the zemindaris. When things had settled down after the suppression of the Mutiny and the assumption of the government by the Crown, a regular Public Works Department was formed, and the construction and maintenance of the irrigation works became part of its duties. The great imperial systems, now irrigating 3,000,000 acres, and the larger provincial works, irrigating 700,000 acres, have naturally always received most attention, and no assistance in maintaining them is demanded from the *rayats*. The minor works have always been difficult to deal with. About 5,000 of them, chiefly spring channels, irrigating small areas, have always been in charge of the villagers, and the remaining 35,000 are in charge of Government officers. Long before 1857 the decay of the *kudi-maramut* system had set in, and not many years later it had practically ceased to exist. It is not surprising that, under the circumstances, and with very small grants for work, little or no headway was made in the attempt to remedy the neglect of generations. The famine of 1876-1877 emphasized the value of the minor works, and at the same time brought to notice the failure of the attempt to keep them in repair. The Famine Commission of 1878-1880 recommended that the tanks irrigating 50 acres or less, which formed the great majority, should be handed over to the *rayats* as they were—a course which could not possibly be adopted—and that the *kudi-maramut* system should be revived and placed on a legal basis. A Bill, having this for its object, was introduced in the Legislative Council in 1883, and dropped in the following year, owing to differences of opinion. The Government meanwhile had elaborated a scheme, subsequently called the Tank Restoration Scheme, for dealing with the minor works, and in connection with this divided the charge of them, the Public

Works Department keeping charge of about 3,500, which it was thought would always require professional supervision for their maintenance, while the remainder were handed over to the Revenue Department, the intention being that, as each of these works was put in order under the Tank Restoration Scheme the revenue officers should arrange for its future maintenance by the *rayats*. Under the Tank Restoration Scheme the works are being surveyed, grouped, and all the hydraulic particulars, catchment, irrigated area, details of sluices and weirs, standard height and section of bank, and all other information required for future guidance, are permanently recorded on plans and in memoirs, which are printed and bound together for the use of those who have to maintain the works in future. Complete estimates are made for everything necessary for putting the works in an efficient state, and these are carried out in due course. While works are thus being dealt with under this scheme, other works are being repaired all over the country, but not generally in the same complete manner—in fact, in most cases only urgent repairs may be done, pending the complete repair which will be done later. General Fischer is quite mistaken in thinking that the works are being neglected. So far from this being the case, the expenditure has been steadily growing, and in the three years ending 1901-1902 averaged over 21 lakhs. The Irrigation Commission recommended that it should be increased to 26 lakhs, or about a third of the gross revenue, until all the works are repaired. Probably this is being done, but the old problem, how to get the works kept up to the high standard laid down, seems to be still unsolved. It is an interesting example of the difficulties of Indian administration.

The Irrigation Commissioners went very fully into the *kudi-maramut* question, and sum up the case in the following words :

“Formerly the cultivators had to depend almost entirely on themselves for the maintenance of these works. If a

tank failed, assistance in restoring it might or might not be afforded sooner or later by the State ; but no reliance could be placed on such assistance, and the people had to rely on their own efforts or *kudi-maramut*. But this system was not in itself sufficient to insure the perpetual maintenance of the tanks. Sometimes repairs were required which were beyond the power of the cultivators to carry out ; or the works were wrecked by disastrous floods ; and in other cases even *kudi-maramut* could not wholly prevent, however much it might retard, deterioration. It thus happened that Government devoted more and more attention and money to the restoration and upkeep of these works, even before the obligation was accepted, on the recommendation of the Commission of 1880, as a part of its regular policy. But the more the State had risen to a sense of its obligation, the more have the people become unmindful of their own, so that *kudi-maramut* has almost ceased to exist, and no care is taken even to retard the progress of deterioration."

The Commissioners then go on to recommend the revival of the system of *kudi-maramut*, by legislation if it cannot be enforced without. The fate of the *kudi-maramut* Bill of 1883 has been alluded to above. Later, the Government tried to induce the cultivators to take charge of some of the tanks which had been completely repaired and, mindful of what had occurred under the old system of divided responsibility and undefined obligation, stipulated that the works should be kept up to the standard laid down in the descriptive memoirs. A grant-in-aid towards this was offered. The cultivators refused the proposal for several reasons. Their chief reason—the only one which did not admit of any working compromise—was the want of union among themselves. Those who advocate the revival of *kudi-maramut* do not seem to realize the profound changes which have taken place in the last century. The old village community, self-centred and almost self-sufficing, no longer exists. We have removed

its isolation by the improvement of communications and by trade developments; we have destroyed its solidarity by dealing with each cultivator individually, and making him responsible for his own assessment alone; we have struck at the roots of caste ascendancy by offering the same educational facilities to all, by teaching Western literature and science in all, and the Bible in most of the schools where English is taught; we have fostered a spirit of independence by equal laws and zealous safe-guarding of individual rights; we have, in fact, destroyed the old village system, which, though it had its good points, was unsuited to modern conditions. It would be better perhaps to drop, until some definition has been agreed upon, the use of the term "*kudi-maramut*," which now may mean anything between the pettiest repairs and full maintenance to a high standard. It is impossible to revive it in the old form. When it did work, it depended on the coercion, moral and other, of reluctant contributors, and on forced labour, open or disguised; but anything of this sort is now impossible. Whatever work is done now must be paid for at market rates, and the levy of contributions sanctioned by law.

The rights of the matter seem to be simple enough. Whatever theory be adopted as to the *rayat's status*, he is, in fact, as long as he pays his assessment, in partnership with the State in the cultivation of the soil, but the partnership is not on equal terms. The State, as the senior and predominant partner, has always claimed and exercised the right of fixing the share of produce to be paid to it. Up to some time in the nineteenth century the share taken by the State was a proportion of the gross produce, but this system was found to be a bad one, and was superseded by the present system of taking a share of the profits, or the difference between value of gross produce and expenses of cultivation. The demand is at present limited to one-half the profit, by administrative order, not by legal enactment. Obviously the cost of providing water is as much a part of

the cost of cultivation as ploughing or sowing, but it has never been taken account of in calculating the assessment, nor was there any reason to do so as long as the cultivators did their share of the repairs. Now that the *kudimaramut* system has broken down, the State can very justly demand compensation, and insist on the cultivators paying their share of the cost of maintaining the works. This might readily be done by levying an irrigation cess, to which the Government should add an equal amount, to form a fund for the maintenance of each work or group of connected works. The cess should vary from time to time according to requirements, and no special grant-in-aid should ever be required from Government, except in the event of the works being wrecked by exceptional floods which cannot be provided against. As to the agency for carrying out the work, the people are now familiar with the working of district boards, taluq boards, and village unions, and the time is ripe for the creation of irrigation unions. Probably these would even be popular, and secure the gratuitous services of competent men, if official interference were limited as much as possible and large powers of initiative and management were allowed to the representatives of the cess-payers.

Before dealing with the general question of new irrigation, it will be well to correct some of General Fischer's errors. In the *Review* of October, 1904 (p. 259), he says : ". . . India, which with its most abundant water-supply is declared to be unable to irrigate more than some 20,000,000 acres of land." No such statement was made. The area irrigated in British India from all sources is about 44,000,000 acres, and of this about 20,000,000 acres are irrigated from Government works. The Irrigation Commission proposed new works to irrigate 6,500,000 acres, but expressly stated that their list was not intended to be exhaustive, and only included works which it was thought might be carried out in a period of perhaps twenty years. In the same article General Fischer quotes and misunderstands the writer's

statement that "the Godavari practically cannot be utilized except in the delta." A reference to the context would have shown that what was spoken of was the Madras portion of the Godavari, which runs through steep or mountainous country down to about twenty-four miles above the head of the delta. There was no suggestion that irrigation could not be extended in the Central Provinces; in fact, about 200 projects for irrigation there were brought to the notice of the Irrigation Commission. General Fischer gives what he calls "a plain, unvarnished tale" regarding the Tungabudra project, and complains that, though his suggestions and proposals were eagerly accepted by the Irrigation Commission, his name and evidence have been entirely suppressed in all the official reports. The writer has not had an opportunity of consulting the volume of evidence taken by the Commission, but believes the fact to be that the idea of taking the canal over the Penner-Hagari watershed was Sir Arthur Cotton's, that it was given up by him, and that it was subsequently independently revived by Colonel A. W. Smart, who succeeded the writer as Chief Engineer for Irrigation. If General Fischer also advocated the idea in his evidence before the Commission, he had been anticipated. The investigation of the project was completed last year. The writer willingly admits his error in thinking it would take much longer. It is difficult to treat seriously General Fischer's vague ideas regarding the possibilities of extending irrigation in Madras. His article on the Mopand project in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of July, 1905, furnishes an example of his ill-grounded optimism. He quotes the writer's statement that "in the river basins from the Penner southwards 70 per cent. of the surface flow is utilized, and that there is very limited scope for impounding more water," and, as disproof of this, refers to a report by the Collector of Nellore that there are seven such rivers (as the Maneru) in that district the waters of which have always been allowed to run waste into the sea. He

then alters the statement, making it read "that 70 per cent. of *all such drainages have been so fully utilized* that there is now only a very limited scope for impounding more water in any of them." Such an inference is absurd. The rivers referred to by the Collector are *north, not south*, of the Penner. An officer was put on special duty in 1898 to examine all these rivers, and see what possibility there was of utilizing the water. No really favourable reservoir sites were found; the country everywhere is most difficult to irrigate; long and expensive distributaries are necessary, and the cultivators would have to spend a good deal in preparing their land for irrigation.

The Government, however, was anxious to do all that was possible to prevent or mitigate famines, and an investigation of the more promising of the possible projects was undertaken. The Mopand project is one of these. General Fischer criticises its details, and gives his opinion that the reservoir should be made large enough to hold the equivalent of a run-off of 26 inches, and he estimates the quantity which would be regularly available for use as sufficient for 37,500 acres of rice, or 150 acres per square mile of catchment. Unfortunately, the average rainfall is only some 28 inches, which gives a probable run-off of 4 inches; one year in ten, perhaps, the rain would be heavy enough to give a run-off of 8 inches. The principle advocated by General Fischer of making reservoirs large enough to catch and store exceptional floods, so as to keep up the supply for irrigation in years of deficient rainfall, has often been advocated. The idea is attractive, and at first sight it seems the right thing to do in a country where the rainfall is very variable, and where the failure of the rains in one year causes much distress and the failure in two successive years acute famine. The principal objections to it are on the ground of expense. The cost of storage at any site is generally nearly proportional to the capacity of the reservoir. If the capacity of a reservoir be doubled with a view to carrying over water from one season to

another, the effective supply is not thereby doubled, because probably at least one-half of the water which is reserved will be lost by evaporation, which, in a country like West Nellore, is not far short of  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch a day in the hot weather.

Another point to be considered is that good and bad seasons have a certain tendency to run in groups, and it may be that the only advantage derived from an increase in the reservoir capacity would be that the regular supply for irrigation could be kept up during the first of a series of bad seasons. This, however, might be of great value. It would be a mistake to lay down a hard and fast rule in such matters. The engineers who design the works should be the best judges of what provision should be made for storage in each case. Where the main object is the prevention of famine, and the cost of storage is not a very large proportion of the total cost of a project, it might well be considered whether the reservoir should not be made large enough to hold much more than the supply expected in an average year. It must also be remembered that cultivators will not incur the expense of levelling their lands, or otherwise preparing them for irrigation, except where they are assured of a fairly regular supply of water. Irrigation cannot be expanded to take advantage of unusually copious supplies in a reservoir.

In the neighbouring district there is a reservoir—the Cumbum Tank—which nearly fulfils General Fischer's ideal of what a reservoir should be. It has a catchment of 430 square miles of country similar to the Mopand catchment, and is so large that it rarely spills over and rarely dries. Yet it supplies water for only 23 acres per square mile of catchment. The Mopand reservoir could not irrigate above 5,000 acres of rice; it is not however intended for rice, to the cultivation of which the Madras people are thought to be too much addicted, but for "irrigated dry" crops, which only require periodical watering in the absence of rainfall. This is the reason so large an area of cultivation as 17,500 acres is contemplated.



With regard to the sweeping assertions of neglect of duty in extending irrigation, it may be pointed out that works which cannot be referred to the Government of India for sanction as productive or protective works have to be carried out from current revenue, and that the expenditure on such works is stated by the Irrigation Commission to have averaged about  $4\frac{1}{4}$  lakhs a year for the ten years ending 1900-1901, a sufficiently large sum, when so many of the old works are still in bad order. The total expenditure up to four years ago was over 100 lakhs. This is merely for the smaller class of works. On the larger works, for which funds are provided by the Government of India, the expenditure for the thirty-five years ending 1901-1902 was 620 lakhs. How, in the face of these facts, can General Fischer say\* that "all the irrigation works were discouraged and mismanaged after Sir A. Cotton left the country? For more than forty years everything possible was done to prevent the extension of hydraulic works." All that he is entitled to say is that the severe financial restrictions imposed in the case of works which have to be carried out from loan funds have delayed the extension of irrigation. One good effect of these restrictions is that the best schemes have been brought forward first, and very few unsuccessful ones have been sanctioned. The result is that the surplus revenue from "productive" works is about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  crores; but this is taken into the general revenue, instead of being used to finance schemes which, though very advantageous to the country, would not bring in sufficient direct revenue to pay the interest on borrowed capital. Apart from the prevention of famine, the benefit of irrigation to the country consists in: (1) The employment afforded for labour, which might otherwise be unemployed, or employed less productively; (2) the profits derived by the cultivator; (3) the profits derived by the State. Setting aside the first, which is of great but indeterminate amount, we have the realized

\* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1905, p. 238.

profits, which are divided in various proportions between the cultivators and the State. The way in which the system operates to the discouragement of irrigation is as follows: The capital of a project is provided as required by the State, and simple interest is debited at the rate of  $3\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. The capital includes the cost of investigation, the expenditure on works, compensation for land with capitalized loss of revenue if the land belongs to Government, percentage charges for tools and plant and for establishment, including leave and pension allowances. The capital expenditure at any time, *plus* accumulated interest, *minus* accumulated net revenue (generally a *minus* quantity for some years), forms the "sum at charge," and it is insisted on, as a condition of sanction, that there shall be a reasonable probability of a scheme paying  $3\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. interest on the "sum at charge" within ten years after the completion of the works. This means that even these projects, which can be completed and developed rapidly, or which can begin earning something while the works are still very incomplete, have to show a probable net revenue of about 5 per cent. on capital.

It will be seen that the debit side of the account is made up on the strictest commercial lines, but when it comes to providing income commercial ideas are thrown to the winds, and—at least, under the Madras system of consolidated land and water assessment—the cultivator is told that he may keep for himself half the profits\* of irrigation, and that the State will bear all the cost of providing and leading water to the land and take all risk of loss. The cultivator gladly accepts such a one-sided bargain, and in places like the great deltas, and in flat country generally where the initial expense of irrigation is small, his land goes at a bound to eight or ten times its previous value, and he gets an unearned increment of probably forty times the annual charge for the water. It is only in the rare cases where unoccupied land is sold that full value is obtained for the water. Thus, when the Periyar works

were opened, a quantity of waste land which the villagers could previously have taken up if they had thought it worth cultivation was sold by auction as the channels were extended to it, and the sales in the first three years realized on the average over Rs. 80 an acre. The purchasers are, therefore, paying Rs.  $3\frac{1}{4}$  higher assessment than their neighbours pay for similar land. It may well be asked why, if an irrigation scheme is a commercial enterprise, something approaching the commercial value of the water is not charged, or why, if the cultivator is to be regarded as a partner with the State, he is not called upon to pay half the expenses. In rare cases, the cost of preparing land may be a fair set-off against the expenditure by the State; but, in general, the profits of irrigation are very unequally divided. Take the case of the highly successful Godavari and Kistna projects. Making allowance for the cultivator's initial expenses, it may be said that the State takes half the profits. Of this half-share, 40 per cent. is spent in maintenance and interest, leaving 30 per cent. of the profits against the cultivator's 50. In the case of a project which just pays interest on capital the cultivators take 50 per cent. of the profit and the State gets *nothing*. Surely it would not be unjust to make the cultivator pay half the cost of the works, or half the expected ultimate cost when irrigation is fully developed. In such case the Government should allow him to recoup half his initial expenses by making the assessments low for a term of years. In the case of old projects this may be considered to have been done already. There would, of course, have to be a limit, as the charge must be kept well inside the commercial value of the water. It is not at all likely that it will be found possible to alter the existing method of calculating the assessments on the expiry of the current settlements, and the aim of the writer is rather to point out the unreasonableness of insisting on irrigation schemes paying a high rate of interest as a condition of sanction, when from motives of State policy they are prevented

from realizing their legitimate revenue. The argument is intended to supplement that put forward by the Irrigation Commission, and commented on in the writer's article in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of April, 1904, in favour of taking account of the indirect revenue when a project is expected to pay less than the 5 per cent. on capital now required. The Commission recommended that projects which are expected to pay anything between 3 and 5 per cent. on capital should be considered on their merits. The writer thinks that there should be no hesitation in sanctioning any project as a productive work when it is fairly certain that it will pay 3 per cent. within a reasonable time.

General Fischer's description of the Madras roads, in which he says that main and cross roads can scarcely be said to exist at all for purposes of cheap transit, that the gradients generally are very bad and the rivers mostly unbridged, is certainly not a fair description of the roads at the present day. The Public Works Commission of 1852 found only 3,200 miles of anything which could be called roads, and these were for the most part unmetalled, unbridged, and frequently impassable. About this time the improvement of the roads was taken in hand and some good work done. After 1857 the work was continued by the present Government until the establishment of the district boards by whom it has been carried on vigorously to the present day, the Government making only a few hill roads which, for special reasons, the district boards could not undertake. Large numbers of roads have also been made in order to provide work in time of famine. As a result of fifty years' steady work the country is covered with a network of good roads and it would be difficult to name any road of any importance which is not bridged throughout, except at the crossings of some of the very large rivers. And these roads are nearly all metalled or gravelled, except in a few places where material happens to be very expensive. In the Cauvery delta, for instance, sand is generally used. Mixed with clay it forms a tolerable

surface in fair weather, but the roads are liable to become rather difficult in rains. As to gradients, the best English practice is followed; the gradients are nowhere so steep as is commonly found in the West of England. Of course, road transport must always be expensive; but, after all, charges of two or three pence per ton-mile are not very onerous for moderate distances.

The railways have been of incalculable benefit to the country. In no other country are passengers and (it is believed) goods carried so cheaply. If the goods rates are declared on good authority to be too high for the country, it really only means that a reduction of the rates would cause further development of traffic. The immense development which has already taken place proves that, for most classes of goods at least, the rates are not prohibitive. The general levelling of prices which railways have caused, and the ready response of distant markets to any local rise of prices, show that goods can be profitably sent long distances. In preventing or relieving famine the railways do invaluable service. One of the Famine Commissions proposed as an ideal that there should be a railway within twenty miles of every important village, and perhaps in time it will come to this. In many places light railways might with advantage be constructed where there is not enough traffic to justify the construction of heavy lines. Canals such as advocated by General Fischer could never serve traffic purposes so well as railways. Even in a favourable country a navigation canal would cost as much as a railway of the same traffic capacity, and if, like the railway, it had to make the charges cover maintenance and interest on capital, it is doubtful whether it could carry goods much more cheaply. In rocky or steep country the comparison would be all in favour of the railway, which has, moreover, the advantage that it could be easily duplicated if the traffic exceeded what the line was designed for.

Inland navigation is a subject which has attracted much attention of late, and is one on which very erroneous

opinions may be formed if regard be paid only to cost of transport on canalized rivers and ship canals. As far as Madras is concerned, this class of navigation need not be considered. The Godavari is the only river which even General Fischer says can be made navigable; but he does not say for what kind or size of vessel. When he has specified clearly what he has in view, and how he thinks the object can be attained, it will be possible to discuss the matter. Former proposals have been reported on fully and condemned as impracticable.

In connection with the question of the relative advantages of ordinary inland navigation canals and railways it will be well to consider the experience of other countries. In the United States, the Erie Canal retains a large amount of traffic because it can take large vessels, but 2,400 miles of State canals had to be closed because they could not compete with the railways. In France, tolls were abolished in 1880 on all the State canals 8,000 miles in length, and large sums were spent in improving them. The result was a very large increase in traffic; but where the canals and railways competed, as they did for a length of 2,000 miles, the railways took all the more valuable traffic. M. de Freycinet, in a report which he made as Minister of Public Works, stated the case in the following words: "Navigable waterways play an important part in the production of the wealth of a country. It has been found that navigable waterways and railways are not destined to supplant but to support one another. Each has its particular attributes. Railways take the least cumbrous traffic, that which requires speed and regularity, and bears most easily the cost of carriage. Waterways take heavy goods of low value, and their mere existence checks and moderates the rates on goods which are sent by railway." In England, where railway freights are so heavy, there is no great traffic on the canals, and those which belong to the railways are used chiefly for the carriage of such things as building materials and coal. The English canals are, of course, at a great

disadvantage on account of their small size, the Bridge-water Canal, for example, taking only barges of 30 to 60 tons. In Germany the taxes levied for the use of waterways are limited to what is necessary to cover the expense of ordinary maintenance and repair of the fixtures, and the Government has spent large sums in improving the navigation. The great advantage which Germany has is that most of her waterways are navigable rivers and her canals are of such large size that, as stated by General Fischer,\* vessels averaging 200 tons can be used. This permits traffic to be carried on at very low rates, but it is not clear how, if the rates on the improved rivers are  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to  $\frac{1}{8}$ d., the canal rates are as low as  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to  $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$ d. Is there not some mistake? Low as these rates are, the railways are not superseded as goods carriers, but, as in France, each instrument of traffic supplements the other. In comparing their relative cost, General Fischer seems to forget that as the State has found the money for making the waterways, interest on the expenditure ought to be taken into account in estimating the saving to the country by the cheaper means of traffic.

When he comes to deal with India, General Fischer allows his imagination to overcome his judgment and shows a lofty disregard of all the hard facts, financial, physical, and other, which practical men, bent on doing something, have to take account of. His assertions as to the possibility of making the Godavari navigable have been alluded to above. The opinion has also been expressed that nothing would be gained by constructing purely navigation canals in lieu of railways. There is also strong reason to believe that the people would prefer railways if they had a choice. A striking instance of this is the absolute failure of the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal as a navigation work. In 1898 there were only twenty-three boats on the canal, and seventeen of these belonged to Government, although there are absolutely no charges for the use of the canal. Traffic must

\* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1905, p. 28.

have sprung up if there had been any demand for means of transport. The people seem satisfied with roads and railways, although the railway-station is thirty miles from Kurnool. And this canal is the line of navigation which, it is presumed, General Fischer proposes to incorporate with another line along the proposed Tungabudra Canal, and with other lines in the Nellore district. He predicts the failure of the Tungabudra project unless this is done. For about 100 miles the Tungabudra Canal will run close to a railway; the fall from the reservoir to the sea will be about 1,600 feet, of which, at most, 300 feet will be required for canal gradients, leaving 1,300 feet to be overcome by locks; taking 8 feet as the economic lift for a lock, 160 would be required, of which there are already 48 in the last 120 miles of the Kurnool Canal. Surely traders would prefer to pay something more for the rapid and convenient railway than for canal transport in such a country.

It appears to be the almost universal opinion of irrigation engineers that only in very exceptional cases is it advisable to combine navigation and irrigation. For navigation to be fully efficient, it is necessary to have still water, or, at least, a very slow current, canals always full, and depth and width sufficient for boats of considerable size. For irrigation, it is right to make the canals with as high a gradient and velocity as the bed and banks will stand without erosion; the depth throughout a reach should be uniform, in order to prevent deposit; and the discharge and depth should vary according to the demand for irrigation. It has been attempted in the Godavari and Kistna works to satisfy these contrary requirements, and it was quite right to do this, as the case of these deltas was exceptional. There were no railways or good roads, or any road material obtainable nearer than the head of the deltas, and if navigation had not been provided for and adopted, the development of the irrigation and the prosperity of the people would have been far less than they are at present.



The navigation has been of immense benefit, but it has always been carried on under difficulties. The canals have to be closed for about two months a year, but a considerable time before the closure the water-supply decreases to such an extent that there is not sufficient water at the heads of the reaches to float the boats. In the Godavari navigation can frequently be carried on only for eight to nine months, and in the Kistna for seven to eight. How can boats working under such conditions compete with a well-equipped railway? Their true function is to supplement and feed the railway. On lines parallel to the railway they can only keep the less valuable traffic, or that which is consigned for such short distances that transfer of the cargo is inadvisable.

It is necessary to correct one more of General Fischer's errors. In the April number of the *Review*\* he quotes an irresponsible statement—that when the East Coast Railway was opened the charges on the boats using the Godavari canals were *enormously* enhanced with a view to drive traffic to the railway, and he adds that great injury appeared to have been done to the irrigation, as the area had decreased over 29,000 acres between 1901-1902 and 1902-1903. From the figures given it is obvious that the fluctuating second crop cultivation was included. Three months later† he makes the more definite statement that "in India we have actually increased the tolls on the Godavari canals by about 400 per cent., in order to get the traffic on to the railways, and thereby have thrown some 30,000 acres of land out of irrigation."

The fact is, that during the four years succeeding the revision of the canal charges, which took place in 1898, the area of land brought under irrigation increased more rapidly than in any similar period in the previous thirty years. As the writer was responsible for the proposal to increase the canal charges, and his report has been brought to public

\* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1905, p. 235.

† *Ibid.*, July, 1905, p. 41.

notice by being quoted in Lady Hope's "Life of Sir Arthur Cotton," it may be permitted to explain what happened. When the railway was opened, the manager complained that navigation was unduly favoured, and, as the railway could not pay interest and working expenses if the charges for goods were less than  $4\frac{1}{2}$  pies, or  $\frac{3}{8}$ d. per ton-mile, he asked that such tolls should be imposed on the competing canals as would prevent the boats working for much less than this. The ordinary charges for boat transport had been about 3 to 6 pies ( $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to  $\frac{1}{2}$ d.), and it was estimated that the license and wharfage fees came to about  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  pie for boats in regular employment. As the request to impose tolls was not complied with the railway management reduced their charge for goods to  $2\frac{3}{4}$  pies, or less than  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per ton per mile. The boats, however much they might reduce their rates, could not compete with this, and the more valuable goods, one-half the whole, went at once to the railway. The traffic was not driven to the railway, but attracted by low rates. This was some two years before the navigation rules were revised. The revision was undertaken not alone because of the complaints from the railway, but chiefly because the Government of India had pointed out that navigation was being worked at a loss, and had repeatedly desired that the revenue should be made to balance the expenditure.

In the report referred to it was strongly recommended that the revenue should be limited to the amount required for maintenance. It was further pointed out that "there are good reasons for believing that serious and harassing interference with the trade of the canals would injure the growth not merely of the canal, but of the railway traffic. The railway would get a large share of existing traffic instead of a somewhat smaller proportion of the vast traffic of the future which the railway and canals, working together for the benefit of trade, are capable of creating. The canal traffic should be nourished, not destroyed. It is to the interest of the whole country to have a numerous and

efficient fleet ever ready to transport grain from the great food-growing deltas to convenient points for distribution by rail." In regard to the increase of rates, it is said, "this is a tariff for revenue to satisfy the objection of the Government of India that navigation is being worked at a loss. . . . The rates entered are such as it is thought traffic will bear without sensible injury. The rates for annual licenses are increased 25 to 33 per cent., and for six-weeks licenses 20 to 150 per cent., the reason for the great variation in the latter case being that in the 1883 tariff a uniform rate of 8 annas was imposed in lieu of two tolls, irrespective of the class of vessels. It is decidedly a bad time to increase rates at all, but the increase cannot be avoided if the receipts and charges are to be made to balance." Nearly all the boats work on annual licenses, and if the estimate that these amount to a charge of  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a pie per ton-mile is correct, the increase of 30 per cent. comes to about  $\frac{1}{8}$  d. per ton-mile.

This is the small foundation on which General Fischer's astonishing statement is founded. The license rates *are* too high, and it is to be hoped they will be reduced when circumstances permit, or abolished altogether if possible; but it is absurd to say they drive to the railway goods which could best be carried by the canals. Their effect is rather to hinder the development of traffic on canals and railway alike. The navigation is in need of improvement, both as regards the boats and the method of hauling them. The canals are unsuited for the ordinary steam-tug, but perhaps the newly-invented motor-boat, or other vessel of small size and high power, could be used with advantage. Or, perhaps, in course of time, electrical traction may be employed, as is done successfully on the Charleroi Canal in Belgium. As long as there is enough water to float the boats there is enough passing over the weirs to generate power for hauling them.

## EARLY MARRIAGES IN INDIA.

BY SIRDAR ARJAN SINGH, OF KAPURTHALA.

EVERYWHERE in Europe, and in most of the countries of this world, people do not marry till they are fully grown up, until they are mentally and physically developed, and are able to support a family; but in India the case is different. They are married very young, very often in childhood, sometimes in infancy, and not rarely the promise of marriage is made before their birth. While in Europe a choice is given for the selection of their spouses, in India they are always married by their parents and guardians.

The custom of early marriages did not exist in pre-Vedic and post-Vedic periods; rather, a courtship of a very modern type is allowed in the Rig Veda and Atharva Veda, and the consent of parents and guardians was only sought after the young people had themselves come to an understanding.

In Hindu literature marriages are described as taking place after the display of feats of arms and competitions, something like those prevalent during the early days of English chivalry.

Even the Hindu marriage rites themselves prove that early marriages did not exist in primitive times. The rites consist of stipulations made between the husband and wife themselves. The husband promises to treat his wife with due consideration, to be a true husband, to protect her from evils, and to be a saviour in time of need. The wife promises to be obedient and a good helpmate, and to follow him through the various vicissitudes of this world. What could be the value of these stipulations if the couple were not of sufficient age to understand, and thoroughly grasp the real sense and future responsibilities falling upon them on account of these promises?

Some people are of opinion that early marriages were introduced by the writing of Manu, and certain of his verses are thus interpreted:

“One should give a girl in marriage to a suitor of high family, who is handsome and of like caste, even though she is under the age of puberty.”

“At thirty years of age a man may marry a beloved girl of twelve years, and a man of thrice eight (twenty-four) years a girl of eight years.”

Dr. Burnell says that, according to the sacred books of the Hindus, twelve years seem to be the highest limit of age for a girl to marry ; if unmarried at that age, the girl is disgraced, and her father has sinned.

Dr. Bhattacharya's interpretations are that a girl should be given in marriage before maturity. If not, the giver and taker both fall into hell.

While Professor Max Müller is of opinion that Sruti and Smriti do not allow early marriages, and the said Professor, in his “Hibbert Lectures,” delivered in 1878, writes that the teachings of the shastras prohibit a youth from marrying before nineteen or twenty years of age. Mr. Malahari, the Indian social reformer, says the marriageable age given in the shastras is from fifteen to twenty years. And Lala Baij Nath places this age at twenty and twenty-five.

In fact, so numerous are the Sanskrit books, and so varied and sometimes contradictory is their subject-matter and that of the commentaries upon them, that one can hold any opinion one likes without the least difficulty, bringing some one or other of the books to support him.

The following quotation from the last Indian Census Report states clearly the discrepancy of opinion on this matter :

“According to Baudhana, a girl who is unmarried when she reaches maturity is degraded to the rank of a sudra (servant caste), and her father is held to have committed a grave sin in having neglected to get her married. This rule is common to all the law books, and many of them go further still and fix a definite age for marriage of girls. The later the treatise, the earlier is the age which it prescribes.

According to Manu, a man of thirty should marry a girl of twelve, and a man of twenty-four a girl of eight. Later writers fix the higher limit of age in such cases at ten years or eight years, and reduce the lower limit to seven, six, or even four years."

Whatever be the true interpretations of Sanskrit books to-day, the real fact which helped in the birth and development of this disastrous custom may be traced elsewhere.

On turning to the pages of Indian history, we come across the chapter which commences with the fall of Indian greatness, when the sun of her glory set, the light changed into darkness, and the absurdities germinated to ripen into customs, many of which still cling to us with undiminished force. Probably it was somewhere in those iron days of India that the idea of early marriages took practical shape, when the Parda System (veiling) and early marriages alone could secure the young women from outrages and maltreatment by tyrants and oppressors, whether invaders from Central Asia, or powerful but unjust people of their own country; and it was probably then that Sanskrit books, to the advantage, no doubt, of Hindu honour and morality for the time being, were made to mean to allow—nay, rather compel—early marriages.

So much is this custom in vogue in India at the present moment that there is no caste, no creed, no religion, the people of which do not marry more or less early; hence the following high figures in last Indian Census:

Under five years:	Male.	Female.
Population ... ..	18,735,774	19,268,997
Married, including widowed ...	127,486	262,990
Five to ten years:		
Population ... ..	20,831,085	19,895,462
Married, including widowed ...	796,014	2,125,540
Ten to fifteen years:		
Population ... ..	18,880,658	15,566,718
Married, including widowed ...	2,652,001	6,860,630
Fifteen to twenty years:		
Population ... ..	12,942,322	12,017,833
Married, including widowed ...	4,532,852	9,865,585

In connection with the given figures, it may be well to compare the marriage statistics of the English Census and the Indian Census, which show that, while those of the former begin from fifteen years of age, the number of marriages in the latter already acquires the highest number of digits.

From the above figures it is evident that about 400,000 children in every five years are married when they are under five years of age ; nay, a certain portion of this number are married in the first year of their life, when they can hardly distinguish between a man and a beast. They are not only married—nature, in its course, sometimes pushes them still further, and brings them to widowhood. Fancy the term widower or widow applied to a baby of a few months ! One cannot help condemning the custom and pitying the widowed infant girl whose whole future life is actually to be that of a Hindu widow, a state of misery quite inconceivable to a European mind, yet enforced by Indian custom.

Early as these marriages are performed, they do not always take place without some little innocent or amusing incidents connected with the child bridegroom and bride.

According to “*Women of India*,” published by the Christian Vernacular Education Society, Madras, a Bengalee newspaper says : “A little boy, on his marriage day, not seeing his mother near, began to cry, and the bride followed his example through sympathy. A person present had a cane, which he showed as if he was going to strike them, which made them stop, but in the bridal chamber the poor boy made himself hoarse crying, ‘Where is mamma ?’”

Another story is told of a child who, after sitting still for a long time performing religious ceremonies, asked his father to let him go out, and was refused. The child was of a logical turn of mind. He cried, and said, “Why is my sister allowed to play, while I am made to sit so long ? Let my sister come and sit in my place, while I go and play.”

These little stories show how little the poor children understood the nature and importance of the ceremonies they were engaged in.

To return to our subject, nearly all the present-day writers are unanimously of opinion that early marriages are attended by ruinous evils, without a single good, except Sir Denzil Ibbetson, who, in his criticism on Mr. Malabari's proposals to check this detrimental custom, says :

“It must be remembered, if it (infant marriage) leads in one way to immorality and suffering, in another way it prevents it. Unchastity and offences connected with women are conspicuously more frequent in the west of the Punjab, where infant marriage is the exception, than in the east, where it is the rule.” And most probably Sir Denzil is right, but so great is the evil that the good is easily overlooked.

To describe the evils, it will be more convenient to divide this part of the subject into two divisions.

1. The performance of marriage ceremony at an early age.
2. Early commencement of married life.

Before we can thoroughly understand the evils arising from the first heading, we must have a little knowledge of some other Indian ceremonies and customs.

There are three principal ceremonies in connection with marriage: (1) The betrothal; (2) the nuptials; (3) the muklava, which may be translated as honeymoon.

The betrothal is simply an agreement of marriage at some future time, and, strictly speaking, does not bind the parties; marriage can easily be cancelled after betrothal, without placing the parties under any obligation or materially affecting either of the young people. But, once the marriage ceremony has taken place, nothing in the world can separate the couple, as there is no divorce in Hindu law. Whether they enter into real married life or not, their social position is that of husband and wife hereafter. The third ceremony is the muklava, which does not generally take place directly



after marriage ; one, three, five, or seven years usually elapse before this ceremony, which means the commencement of married life, is solemnized.

From the above marriage customs, it is obvious that the marriage ceremony does not mean entering married life ; rather a period of time, extending to seven years or more, must elapse before the couple know each other as husband and wife. In the meantime, the destructive hand of Nature, governed by some unknown laws, destroys many a soul, besides leaving many others enfeebled, invalided, and permanently affected by various diseases. All these infirmities and evil habits acquired by one during this period are patiently borne by the other, while life is embittered and a family seems a heavy burden.

If, in consequence of the death of one of the parties, the survivor is a widower, another marriage is compulsory, and therefore much expense must be again incurred, so well known to every reader or hearer of the Hindu marriage splendour, and a fact which is said to have greatly affected the national economical condition. If a widow, there is no remedy. Hindu custom does not allow widow marriage, though legal restrictions have been abolished by the Indian Government Act XV. of 1856. The poor girl must live a widow and die the death of a martyr of life-long widowhood. The whole of her life consists of fasting, penances, and attending religious and charitable functions, while her hardships are unimaginable, only known to an Indian widow.

Our feelings of pity should come to a climax when we know that at the time of the last Indian Census there were in India 19,487 widows under five years of age, 115,285 under the age of ten, and 391,147 under the age of fifteen ; not widows nominally, but actual widows, who (as it is believed) sinned in their last birth, and, as a punishment, cannot have a husband until their next birth.

All these widows and all their sufferings are the result of early marriages. A writer on Indian widows says : " No

doubt a large proportion of Indian widows is on account of early marriages."

Now we come to the second head, the early muklava, the solemnization of which means the commencement of married life. Early muklava is an evil of a rather physiological character, and therefore of greater importance. This evil has much to do with the morality, physique, education, and economics—in short, the general well-being of India.

Early as they marry in India, very often they also commence the married life early, and live together as husband and wife soon after, if not before, they attain maturity. Undoubtedly India is a hot country, children grow up quickly, the structure and faculties develop sooner than they do in cold countries; still, as a rule, they enter the family life much earlier than they ought to. It is a grave mistake to suppose, as people generally do, that puberty implies fitness for marriage.

The Hon. Dr. M. L. Sircar, M.D., with the help of an instance, explains it thus: "The teeth are no doubt intended for the mastication of solid food, but it would be a grievous error to think that the child, the moment he begins to cut the teeth, will be able to live on solid food."

Therefore this question is physiologically objectionable. It hinders growth and vigour; it causes mental degradation and physical deterioration; it is a hurtful drain on the constitution of husband and wife; it is said to produce diseases in all concerned. Moreover, it hinders education, produces large unsupportable families at an early age, the children are badly brought up, and it is said to produce more female than male offspring.

Every unbiassed thinker, after having thought over the matter for a while, and seen the deadly evil that results from such a state of things, might reasonably ask why the people of India do not put a stop to this custom at once. Even he may go further, and say, "Why, in the twentieth century, when India has so much to do with Western

civilization, has not the custom of early marriages been already rooted out?" But he must remember that custom implies some widespread habit, and in the present case about three hundred million people follow this custom; that, once a custom is fixed, it makes enough room for itself, and ultimately it becomes difficult to eradicate. Just as a man, however bad-natured he be, still finds supporters and friends, true or untrue, in like manner there are a lot of things which go hand in hand with this pernicious custom, and which support it most cordially.

Now, let us try to find out what support this custom of early marriages has got.

The Indian people are strictly endogamists and hypergamists. They always marry in their own caste, and the husband is generally of the higher caste. Both these customs limit the area of choice, and therefore compel parents to secure appropriate bridegrooms or brides as soon as possible, quite regardless of the evil effects of infant marriages.

Polygamy also, to some extent, fosters this pernicious custom. It is true that polygamy is not largely practised in India, where it is rather an enjoyment of luxury, and confined to rich, but imprudent, people. In other sections of Indian society polygamy is generally the result of an unfruitful marriage, when a childless husband marries a second wife in order to have a male child to perform those Hindu rites which can be performed by male offspring alone. In such cases, also, the bride is usually of an age when she has no discretion.

Again, an astrologer's opinion is supposed to be quite a necessary thing in the performance of every religious ceremony, and, unfortunately, there are certain planets which, in their certain positions, forbid the performance of marriage in certain period of time. Therefore either earlier or later they should be performed, and generally the former course is followed. Astrology also forbids the nuptial connection between people whose horoscopes do not agree

in certain ways known to astrological mathematicians; hence comes the difficulty which narrows the field of choice, and people naturally hasten to pick up the partners for their children.

Shraddha is another belief, which has also to answer for early marriages, and about which Rev. T. E. Slater writes thus: "The second religious basis of child marriage is the doctrine of Shraddha, or the ceremonies that follow the funeral rites. Orthodox Hindus believe that if they do not leave sons behind them who will offer food for their souls after death, they cannot reach heaven; if they can secure this, they may rest satisfied. But intelligent men do not believe that balls of rice and flour can have any effect on departed spirits; that any ceremonies or sacred places can accelerate the progress of disembodied relatives to heaven."

The last and most important factor and the primary basis of early marriages are the religious precepts given by the Brahman, whose watchword is: "The father, mother, and elder brother of a girl go to hell should they see her attain her puberty in their family"; and sometimes modifying the tone, the Brahman declares: "A father who keeps a grown-up girl unmarried is guilty of infanticide."

And as to the belief in these precepts on the part of the people, Lala Baij Nath describes the situation thus: "It may be asked, How did these absurdities come to be believed in by a people who boast of such a glorious past, such a rich literature, and such subtle philosophy?" To which he answers: "The Hindu is eminently religious; his religion is a living force with him, and always keeps him company — eating, drinking, sleeping or waking, he is bound up in his religion. A people so eminently religious it is difficult to find. The Hindu's religious teacher knows this, and taking advantage of it, gives any precept he wishes to enforce the sanction of religion, and appeals to his disciples' ideas of reward and punishment hereafter, with the result that the latter believes without questioning or troubling himself about the precept being ever so contrary

to common-sense. The Brahmin is nothing if he is not mysterious, and the national mind, having been crushed and enslaved under a thousand and one repressive influences, lost all power to question the validity of his precepts, till English education and Western culture came in to its aid."

The above facts, which are at the bottom of this destructive custom of early marriages, and the religious beliefs of Indian people, clearly show that there is no hope of its abolition in the near future, unless with the help of the Government.

The Baroda and Mysore Governments have already passed Acts against early marriages in their territories, making the person who takes part in any marriage under a certain age liable to prosecution, and, as a result, marriages under certain age, which, so far as my knowledge goes, is at least ten or twelve in the case of a girl, and twelve or fourteen in the case of a boy, have been altogether stopped, and therefore there is a flourishing future before the people of these two big States of India, so far as early marriages are concerned. As regards such legislation in British India, many proposals have been set forth.

In 1884 Mr. Malabari, a well-known public-spirited gentleman of Bombay, appealed in forcible language to the Government of India to devise means to put restrictions upon the practice of early marriages and enforced widowhood, and made the following proposals concerning early marriages :

1. No married student should be admitted to a university examination.
2. Preference should be given to unmarried candidates in Government employment.
3. Books against early marriages should be introduced into public schools.
4. The State should rule that parents or male guardians who bring about the marriage of their sons at the age of eight or ten with a girl of twelve or more should be held criminally responsible.

5. University graduates and others should form themselves into an association and take a pledge not to marry under a certain age, and that no educated man shall marry a girl too much under his age.

Mr. Malabari depicted the evils incident to said customs, and called upon the Government to mitigate them.

The Government, on finding some truth in these evils, took the matter into serious consideration, and called upon the local governments and administrations to think over and give their opinions on this subject, which the Government considered was of very great importance to the social well-being of Indian people. The local governments asked for the opinions of well-known officials and non-officials; but, as Mr. Malabari's proposals were rather of a stringent character, nobody agreed with him in wishing to force on their enactment, though the serious evils and injurious effects of this custom on the body and mind of the nation were on all sides admitted. Some persons submitted the proposals of their own of a more practical and milder character.

When the papers from all the local governments and administrations with their opinions reached the Government of India the subject was discussed at some length, and finally dropped.

The following is an extract from the views of Government on this matter :

“In dealing with such subjects as those raised by Mr. Malabari's notes, the British Government in India has usually been guided by certain general principles. For instance, when caste or custom enjoins a practice which involves a breach of the ordinary criminal law, the State will force the law. When caste or custom lays down a rule which is of its nature enforceable in the civil courts, but is clearly opposed to morality or public policy, the State will decline to enforce it. When caste or custom lays down a rule which deals with such matters as are usually left to the option of citizens, and which do not need the aid of civil

or criminal courts for their enforcement, State interference is not considered either desirable or expedient.

“In the application of such general principles to particular cases there is doubtless room for differences of opinion ; but there is one common-sense test which may often be applied with advantage in considering whether the State should or should not interfere in its legislative or executive capacity with social or religious questions of the kind now under notice. The test is, ‘Can the State give effect to its commands by the ordinary machinery at its disposal?’ If not, it is desirable that the State should abstain from making a rule which it cannot enforce without a departure from its usual practice or procedure.

“If this test be applied in the present case, the reasons will be apparent why His Excellency in Council considers that interference by the State is undesirable, and that the reforms advocated by Mr. Malabari, which affect the social customs of many races, with probably as many points of difference as of agreement, must be left to the improving influences of time, and to the gradual operation of the mental and moral development of the people by the spread of education.”

Mr. Whiteley Stokes, the late member of Viceroy's Council, some years ago advocated Government legislation against early marriages in the following words : “We have already, by the Indian Act XV. of 1856, removed all obstacles to re-marriages ; but the number of widows who availed themselves of this Act is infinitesimally small. The only practical course is to limit the number of young widows. This can be done by abolishing the system of infant marriages, in accordance with which boys are often wedded at the age of nine or ten, and girl-wives married at four or five, becoming widows before their boy-husbands grow up. As a Hindu marriage is not a contract, our courts are compelled to recognise such unions. We must therefore legislate in the Governor-General's Council, and the operative part

of the necessary Bill might be in the following form :  
(1) Every marriage solemnized between Hindus after this Act comes into force shall be void unless, at the date of the marriage, the husband has completed his age of sixteen years, and the wife has completed her age of twelve years.  
(2) Every party to a marriage made contrary to the provisions of this Act, and every person abetting, within the meaning of the Indian Penal Code, any such marriage, shall be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year, or fine, or to both."

Many other proposals have now and then been made, but the Government has always stuck to its principle of non-interference in such matters, except that under the viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne, when the Government came across a very serious criminal case under Section 375 of the Indian Penal Code, and found that the provisions of the said section were weak enough not to be applied to the accused, who had actually committed a serious crime. The authorities, by Act X. of 1891, amended the Section 375 of the Indian Penal Code, raising the age of a girl from ten to twelve years, at which she can be forced by her husband to enter the family life. So far so good. But what about so many poor widows who, on account of early marriages, are made to lead miserable lives? What morality will allow such a thing? When and what kind of Government shall they look to to save them?

Allowing that the Government interference is not desirable, has not the Government got other means to eradicate, or, at least, to mitigate, the custom of early marriages, and thus save the female children or, at least, a proportion of them, from improper widowhood?

Let the Government pass an Act, the operative part of which may be somewhat in the following form :

1. This Act shall apply : (a) To those persons only who belong to such caste, sub-caste, religion, or community, which, after holding public meetings, pass a resolution to



come under the protection of this Act ; (b) to those districts only in which such meetings have been held for the above said purpose.

2. Under this Act, no marriage shall have the legal force, unless at the date of marriage the husband has completed his twelfth year and the wife her tenth year.

Let the Government also exert its influence on different castes and communities in every district to hold meetings and come to a definite conclusion.

By such an action on the part of the Government, we may be sure that almost every caste, every religion, and every community in the whole of India, by the influence of the Government and under the leadership of educated people, will, with great pleasure, place itself under this Act.

The Government will do immense good to the well-being of the whole country, save 115,285 girls from child widowhood every ten years, and shall win the hearts of the people.

Everybody in India is fully aware of the evils, and the passing of such an Act would simply give a chance to fulfil their desires. Strictly speaking, such an Act will not force the people, rather give them a choice.

But if the Government cannot enact such a mild measure, the custom of early marriages is not likely to diminish until the education spreads enough to suppress it.

## SAKHALIN OR KARAFTO.

BY L. V. DALTON, F.R.G.S.

IN view of the notoriety acquired by the island of Sakhalin, owing to the prominent part it has played in the recently concluded peace negotiations between Japan and Russia, it may be that the following items of information as to its history, scenery, and inhabitants, for the most part collected during a visit of the writer to the island some two years ago, will not be devoid of interest to the readers of this journal.

Not a year ago the majority of English people either had not heard of Sakhalin (or Saghalien), or, at all events, were absolutely ignorant of its position on the globe, so that, even now, a note on that head may not be useless. The island lies off the east coast of Siberia (the Amurland), between latitudes  $45^{\circ} 54'$  and  $54^{\circ} 24'$  N., and is separated from the mainland by the Gulf and Straits of Tartary, the latter being very narrow at about latitude  $52^{\circ}$  and full of sandbanks, somewhat clearer now than formerly, as shown by the fact that towards the close of the eighteenth century a small vessel of 10 feet draught failed to pass through them; while southwards the Straits of La Pérouse separate it from Yezo.

Its history is not extensive, but perhaps may be said to date from 1613, when the island was discovered by the Japanese, after which little more was heard of it till in 1643 a Dutch expedition anchored in Aniva Bay, at the south end of the island, and in 1645 a Russian traveller in Siberia reported rumours of an island off the mouth of the Amur. From that time onwards there are few or no records of visits to the island, but in 1774 Stellers published a work on Kamtchatka, in which is a map showing "Sagalin Insel," extending from latitude  $54^{\circ}$  N. to  $49^{\circ}$  N., opposite the Amur mouth, and in 1787 La Pérouse discovered that it extended to latitude  $48^{\circ}$  or further; in 1848, however, a

Russian writer described it as a peninsula, but in the following year Captain Nevelski established the existence of a navigable channel between Sakhalin and the mainland, though his discovery was not made public till 1855. Prior to this date the southern half of the island had been occupied by the Japanese under the name of Karafto, the northern half being under China and called *Saghalien onla anga hata* (cliffs, or rocks, at the mouth of the black river); the first word, meaning "black," has since, with unintentional appropriateness for the convicts, been adopted as the name of the island. In 1855 a treaty was made between Japan and Russia, recognising the possession of the northern half by the European power; a year or so later military posts were established on the island, and an attempt was made to utilize convict labour in the Dui coal-mines; in 1869, 800 convicts were sent there, and, finding the experiment successful, the Government decided to make it a convict settlement. By the Russo-Japanese Treaty of 1875 the southern half was ceded to Russia in exchange for the Kuriles, since when more and more convicts have been sent to the island, and from 1883 onwards *all* women convicts. Its history since the beginning of the war is too well known from the accounts in the daily papers to need repetition here.

Any work dealing with Sakhalin published previous to 1903, when Mr. Hawes, in his "Uttermost East," very fully and accurately described the island, would almost invariably set down the climate as damp and foggy, with only a few days of sunshine in the year, and so forth. No greater libel was ever issued, for, on the contrary, not only does the visitor to the island in summer experience some of the finest weather he could wish for, but the official meteorological records show the same for past years. In August and September the days are often very hot, though at night the temperature falls to nearly freezing-point; but it is not till October that the first snow appears on the hilltops and the winter begins with its dry, healthy

cold, like that of Canada, lasting till the following April or May.

The island is about 600 miles long and 16 to 100 miles wide, giving an area approximately equal to that of Greece. A mountainous ridge runs along the island for the whole of its length, flanked by low sandstone hills to the east and west, but of greater extent on the east. There are two principal rivers, both reaching the sea on the east: the Tim, flowing northwards into Nyi Bay to the Okhotsk Sea, and the Poronai, flowing southwards into Patience Gulf, towards the Pacific. The scenery of the two coasts is dissimilar in some respects; thus on the western, the warmer side, the forest stretches down to the sea, but on the eastern, as one approaches the Okhotsk Sea, whence come cold, piercing winds, the *taiga* (Siberian virgin forest) gives place to hills covered with white reindeer-moss and but few trees, or to broad stretches of tundra near the river mouths. Both hills and valleys in the interior are, for the most part, clad with dense pine-forest, three-quarters of the island being so covered. The flora shows a strange admixture of polar and subtropical species, the latter being more especially in evidence in the south-west of the island, where the vegetation and scenery resemble that of Northern Japan. The forests to the north are composed chiefly of larch, pine, birch, and other north temperate or polar species, with wild raspberry, bog-myrtle, and other undergrowth. On the coasts, on the broad stretches of Siberian tundra, occur various small polar plants. To the south are maple, oak, ash, bamboo, cork-tree, and other subtropical trees or shrubs. The fauna shows a similar variety—the bear, fox, a few wolves, reindeer, etc., occurring in company with the small striped squirrel of Northern India; and in the rivers, or on the coasts, seal, salmon, and other more southern fish abound, while the “spouts” of Greenland whales are no uncommon sight on the coast washed by the Okhotsk Sea. Amongst the birds it has been estimated that an equal percentage of species, from 10 to 20 per cent.,

are respectively polar and subtropical, birds proper to the Arctic regions being often seen at the same time as those common in Southern Japan and other semitropical regions.

This brief summary will serve to show that of Sakhalin it may with truth be said that "every prospect pleases, and only man is vile," for, while the natural scenery is beautiful, the white population consists, with a few exceptions, of, on the one hand, convicts, and, on the other, officials and soldiers, who, too frequently, are little better or even worse than their prisoners. The total number of inhabitants is about 36,000, of whom 4,000 only are natives. The Russians are, for the most part, confined to two circles, one round Alexandrovsk, on the west coast opposite De Castries Bay, and the other round Khorsakovsk, on Aniva Bay, in the extreme south of the island. A few settlements are scattered up and down outside these areas, but the principal prisons are at Alexandrovsk and Khorsakovsk, with a large subprison at Rikovsk inland, in the Timovsk district, east of Alexandrovsk. The last-named, which is practically the capital of the island (though, having no municipal authority, it is hardly to be called a town, and is, in point of fact, known officially as *Post Alexandrovski*), is situated on the west coast in latitude  $51^{\circ}$  N., and stands on the river terrace of the Alexander River, which the departing or arriving traveller has to cross on his way between the town and the jetty in Jonquière Bay, whence a launch plies to and from any steamer anchored in the vicinity. It consists of a cluster of log-built houses and cabins covering an area of approximately 80 acres, with a prison, the Governor's offices (the present Governor holds power direct from the Czar), a club, three churches (Greek, Roman Catholic, and Islam), a museum, bank, and post-office. Outside the last-named building is a notice, "St. Petersburg, 10,186 versts" (1 verst = 662 miles), a somewhat terrifying distance for a dog-sleigh, by which means the first part of the journey to Nikolaevsk is performed in midwinter, the island being then inaccessible to ships.

To the club, patronized by the "society" of Alexandrovsk, is attached a theatre in which performances are occasionally given, either by the convicts themselves or by touring companies. The museum contains, besides many specimens illustrating the natural history of the island, a collection of native curios and costumes, with models of houses, etc., and many implements and models made or used by the convicts. The other settlements range from flourishing villages, such as Rikovsk and Derbinsk, on the Tim, to a few huts in clearings in the *taiga*, with sometimes not half a dozen inhabitants.

The Russian convicts, on reaching the island, are placed in one or other of the "chained" prisons at Alexandrovsk or Khorsakovsk, where they are kept in fetters and idleness for a term varying in length with the whole sentence from eight years for a life sentence and downwards. On the expiration of this they pass on to the "testing" prison, in which they live, and work during the day at road-making or in the coal-mines. Here, again, the time spent varies with the length of the sentence, and on the expiration of the term they go out and earn their living in the town, having only to report themselves and sleep in the prison; this period exhausted, they go out and live as exile peasants, owning their plots of land and their cottages, until the time comes at last when they may return to the mainland, seldom, however, to Europe, and comparatively few go even to Siberia. The convict, sometimes innocent or condemned for a trivial offence, who has spent several years on Sakhalin, forced to associate with brigands or cut-throats, has little hope or ambition left when his sentence is expired, and prefers to remain as a peasant on the island.

The native population is thus composed: Gilyaks, over 2,000; Ainus, 1,300; Orotchons, 750; and 200 Tungus. But the figures given are, of course, only approximate. The first-named are, in part, at least, a Mongol race, possessing the characteristic features of the Manchus, pigtailed, high cheek-bones, etc.; they live on the banks

of the rivers and on the coast, living almost entirely upon fish (salmon abound in all the streams). Their only religion appears to be a manner of spirit worship, while their language resembles that of the natives of the Alaskan coast and the Aleutians. Many interesting stories might be told of their customs, etc., but space will only permit a brief mention at present. The Ainus are too well known from the many descriptions of their brethren in Yezo and elsewhere. The Orotchons, a Mongol tribe, short-haired, and somewhat resembling the Japanese in appearance, live also on fish, but their villages are chiefly on the coast, and they are much more cleanly in their habits than the Gilyaks. In religion they are Christians (Greek Orthodox). The Tungus are the offshoots of the Manchu race, and in many ways are superior to the Orotchons, but vastly inferior to their relations in the palace at Peking.

But scanty though the population is for the size of the country, Sakhalin has no lack of resources, both vegetable, animal, and mineral; its forests furnish valuable and beautiful timber, well exemplified by the collection in the Alexandrovsk Museum. An extensive trade has been, and is, carried on by Chinese, Japanese, and Russian merchants in trepang, or sea cabbage, of the lagoons on the east coast. The Orotchons and Tungus do a fairly large trade in the skins of the bear, fox, reindeer, seal, and other smaller animals, while the streams abound in salmon, thousands of which die annually owing to the careless and filthy habits of the Gilyaks—a waste easily prevented by proper management, which might also turn the rivers of Sakhalin to valuable account on this score. In the mineral kingdom, the coals of the Dui-Alexandrovsk mines have been worked for many years, and gold and other metals occur at many points, though an obstacle to the development of these deposits is the fact that in the forests the soil is frozen at 4 feet deep all the year round; petroleum also occurs on the east coast, but little or no exploitation has so far been carried on.

Enough has been said to show that the convict island of Russia, however it may appear to the unfortunate prisoners, is not the bare, desolate island it may have seemed to many from earlier descriptions and general ideas of Siberian convict life, but a land which, apart from its strategical value due to its position at the Amur mouth, may well be desired by the Japanese for its resources, while its alignment with Yezo and Nippon seems to make it a natural part of the Island Empire. In any case, the annexation of the southern half by Japan will materially benefit the country, seeing that it means an end of the use of that part as a convict settlement; and, under present conditions, as the Russian "Guide to the Great Siberian Railway" expresses it, "The inhabitants, being deprived of their freedom, care but little for the future prosperity of the island"; so that, while the presence of the convicts tends to discourage any outside attempt at development of Sakhalin's resources, they themselves have no interest in advancing any steps towards improvement in this respect.



## THE DUALISM OF ISAIAH XLV. 7: WAS IT ZOROASTRIAN?

BY PROFESSOR L. MILLS, D.D.

ISAIAH XLV. 3: "I am Yahweh, the Lord, that call thee, Cyrus, by thy name, even the God of Israel. For Jakob My servant's sake, and for Israel My chosen, I have called thee by thy name; I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known Me. (5) I am Yahweh, and there is none else; beside Me there is no God: I will gird thee, though thou hast not known Me: (6) That they may know from the Rising of the Sun, and from the West, that there is none beside Me. I am Yahweh (the Lord), and there is none else; I form the Light and create Darkness; I make peace and create evil; I am Yahweh (the Lord), that doeth all these things." What shall we say to these passages, and especially to the last?—"I form the Light and create Darkness; I make peace and create evil; I am Yahweh, that doeth all these things." I propose to ask what is the theological meaning of it. Or has it any special intelligible meaning at all? Is it anything beyond a mere flat assertion that "the Lord made all things, good and evil"? It would indeed sound strange enough to us that the "Scriptures" should present any such a proposition here as an abstract discussion, even one concerning the Origin of Evil, and we should view such a supposed discovery with a suspicion almost sardonic. And if the passage, with its bearings, were at all of the ordinary type, we should not hesitate for a moment to discard the possibility of any reference to such profound interior distinctions. Yet the whole matter, when viewed in connection with one great characteristic of a certain religion, only presumably the religion of the Inscriptions, becomes peculiar to the last degree. What, then, at least, let us ask, may it *possibly* have meant? or we may at once make bold to say, "What *did* it probably mean?"

THE DUALISM OF ISAIAH XLV.

As I have said above, it has long been thought by some expositors that the words meant exactly what they seem to mean. That is to say, the opinion has long been held that they assert the claim that Yahweh was empowered to control evil in its entire mass, and for the reason that He "created" it; whereas the words imply that the God of Cyrus was bereft of this function. Note the extraordinary iterations of exclusive authority, and even of exclusive existence, made in the name of the Jewish Deity—"I am Yahweh, the Lord, and there is none else; beside Me there is no God," etc. But what was the occasion for such a definitive antagonism just here? Was there not some Theological Doctrine in the near presence of Yahweh at the moment which threatened and challenged His Omnipotence as to a certain particular? and did this Doctrine necessarily concern the Possession of Omnipotence in regard to "making peace or creating evil"? In a word, did not the terms in the connection necessarily include a reference to a Dualism? But where is such an idea to be found in the entire horizon of the situation? Where, then, could it have come from if it be present in these texts of Isaiah xlv.?

THE DOCTRINE IS DIFFICULT TO BE TRACED IN ANY OTHER CONTEMPORANEOUS DOCUMENTS, SEMITIC OR ARYAN.

We may, indeed, search both the Inscriptions and the Scriptures throughout, and yet get no further answer. But another witness arises once more upon the scene to explain the doubtful language of the Prophet. The curious words indeed express an exceptional Doctrine of Dualism; not, indeed, such a Dualism as exists between nature and a transcendent "God" with Plato and his set,\* but a simpler and a downright "Two-god" view:

*The two foci of ideas: good and evil elements, were sifted, and multiplicities avoided. Such was the scheme*

\* Properly first suggested by Anaxagoras.

precisely. It focussed all the evil influences or personal forces in the Universe on the one side, and all the good ones on the other, instead of frittering the great thought of "universal conflict" away by leaving its elements an unsifted tangle of never-ending wranglings among a multitude of gods and godlets. And it emphatically objected to seeing "all things" so hopelessly involved\* in confusion and antagonism as they are, while yet those thus believing in such a confusion should be at liberty to hold at this same time to the doctrine that those same confused and mutually antagonistic elements were the product of One universally Supreme and unchangeably "good" Creator. This Dualistic principle would hear nothing whatsoever of such a thing. It coolly announced that there were *two* co-eternal Forces in the Universe which were wholly antagonistical the one to the other, and it implied a sharp denial that there was any One Supreme Being who was half-evil and half-good. The good Deity not only *did* not, but He *could* not, create "evil," which was the work of a separate Original. There were, therefore, two separated and mutually independent Forces contending together in the commingled mass of existing things, the one wholly "good," and the other wholly "evil"; and they were also *personal: there were two First Spirits*. And this hypothesis became notoriously recognised in history later, and it is very familiar in its results to us all as critics.†

If this be indeed the secret of Isaiah's texts, it is a contribution to the science of Comparative Philosophy which is startling enough to repay us at once for our investigations. But did it, indeed, come from the Avesta, or from its Aryan sources? and if so, by what means was it communicated? The rejoinder should at once be made: "Have we not a better certified source for it?"

\* The Gumezeshn, or "mixing," was abhorrent to Zoroastrian instincts even in the later literature.

† It was reproduced notoriously in Gnosticism, or in some sects of it, and also by the Manichæans. Compare first of all the Christian Satan.

*But our opposition should immediately intervene: Was not Assyrian Dualism the true source of Isaiah's expressions in spite of the overwhelming force of the facts in the connection which point irresistibly to Cyrus?*

Assyriologists most properly put forward the chaotic Dualism which appears upon the Inscriptions which they have so laboriously studied, and—to some extent, at least—have so ably succeeded in explaining. But with all earnest sympathy with their arduous work and with its brilliant results, both they and I would class that Dualism of Assyria with the great mass of such-like doctrine scattered everywhere.

It is most certainly a significant point, if, indeed, it be thoroughly made out, that the Babylonians could never arrive at one single original principle.\* And to my mind the two principles, "water" and "chaos," are most engaging. But they (Apsu and Tyāmāt) become at the next step the symbol of "sexual union," and the "conflict" proper only begins with the advent of the later gods, their product. The first two of the "three classes of deities each consist of a pair, while the third is the well-known Triad of the old Babylonian theology, Anu, Bel, and Ea. . . ." On a certain tablet ten pairs of gods, are enumerated. "To each one an associate is given in accord with the established doctrine of Duality (!) that characterizes the more advanced of the ancient Semitic cults in general."

This, indeed, possesses the greatest interest and value in itself considered, but what has it conceivably to do with our present question? That "pairing" does not at all belong to either a philosophical or a mythical principle of the character proposed. Valuable as I again cheerfully admit such a Dualism as this to be, we can find it everywhere. There is not a cult which has ever been known which did not possess similar traces of this familiar phenomenon. All forms of faith group good and evil gods on opposing sides. If we had nothing else but this, we should, indeed, have

\* See Jastrow, p. 412.

to be content with it; but here we are seeking something definite, pronounced, and plain, a great historical intellectual circumstance.

IF ASSYRIAN DUALISM IS THEN OUT OF ALL QUESTION, WHAT  
SHALL WE SAY OF ACHÆMENIAN DUALISM?

As for this form of Dualism, it can only be said to have existed as a presumption and as a postulate. Darius names, indeed, a devilish personified abstraction, the drauga; and he reiterates in thunder-tones his detestation of his (?) work, using it as the substance of a verb "denominative" (adurujiya); but where is there anything approaching to a positive proof in the Inscriptions that his Auramazda did not "create evil," or could not have created it if he had so willed, or that there existed any other uncreated source of it?

To find such an idea we must turn again to a still sublimer, if yet more formidable, theory, but still to one which, as we hope we have proved, is closely related to the Inscriptions, and which is almost built-up upon the sought-for concept both in the structure of its foundations and in the completion of its fuller frame.

AS AGAINST BOTH ASSYRIAN DUALISM AND BEHISTUN,  
COMPARE ONCE MORE THE AVESTA.

It is again the Lore most immediately in point, and it is the only surviving system anywhere which has any original bearing at all upon the subject in any serious shape or form—that is to say, it is the only Lore of the needed antiquity and of a distinctly religious cast\* which throws light upon the expressions in our texts. Its God is the Auramazda of the Inscriptions, though in an older and verbally separated form; and its Demon is, on the other hand, the evil God,

\* Not only did Heraclitus deal in a Dualism (within a Monism) later, but the very Platonic scheme is such (see above), the transcendent God being essentially divided from existing substance; unless, however, we personify both this "being" and non-existent God on the one side, and "inert" matter on the other, the Dualism of the Academy is not Zoroastrian. We have in the Avesta a wholly good God on the one side, and a wholly evil one on the other (see Y. 45, 2).

who, as Isaiah feared, might wrest from Yahweh the sad prerogative referred to.\*

Isaiah's allusion owes its real origin to those singular fragments which, under the name of Gāthas, are so valuable a heritage to the intellectual religious history of man, or to their fully cognate sources within this Lore, and within it alone.

THERE WAS AN AHURA, AND THERE WAS AN ANGRA MAINYU.

The last was the "evil" or "torturing spirit." In the later forms of Zoroastrianism, and even in the later but still genuine Avesta, the ideas become overgrown with the weeds of Myth, but in the older and original Avesta they are hard and clear. These ancient pieces, if reason does not belie itself, are of earlier date than the Inscriptions, and they are of such a character as to introduce us at once to great thoughts. In them we have an actually definitive statement of the concept.

#### THE INTERIOR OF THE MATTER.

That severe and truly awful question, which, though it may not always be put into words, must yet be ever present, lying at the foundations of all cogitation, where capable men engage in speculative reflection,† not only existed as a problem among those who first heard the Gāthas chanted, but it was obviously to them the fundamental thought, and it led them to a conclusion at once astounding and enlightening, though it is probable that at that early age thoughts were still fixed rather upon the deficiency of Power on the part of Godhead, as shown in the chaotic condition of the Universe rather than upon deficiency in character.

#### THE INTERIOR OF THE MATTER YET MORE CLOSELY CONSIDERED: THE ORIGIN OF THE DISTINCTIONS.

For ages groups or hosts of unseen evil beings had been believed in and reported, but nowhere—so far, at least, as my

\* That of being in any original sense "the author of evil."

† The origin of evil.

information extends—had any such definite statements with reference to the terrific facts exposed been made before the date of the pieces named above, with their now long-lost companions.

There were Gods in plenty who were "goodish," but who sometimes erred immoderately, and there were some evil Gods who were at intervals capable of better things; but where was the God ever good,\* and with this, where is the description of One pre-eminent Being ever evil so much as bruited† at the dates involved, these supposed Deities being also "twin" concepts?

The God of the Avesta "created the heavens and the earth, man, and civilization for him"; and beside Him there was no Deity, great or little, in that Lore who could compare with Him as to this function; but whatever else He made, His creative energy paused at one dire juncture, which was, unhappily, the second great circumstance in the existing Universe. He had absolutely nothing at all to do with the source of either the lesser or the supreme agonies which we suffer or inflict; that is to say, so far as the Documents report the existence of any such supposed fact.

#### HE DID NOT CREATE EVIL.

This great attempt to save the "dignity," and perhaps the "honour," also of our God for us modified the first formula which attributed the source of the Universe to Him, and this with an antithesis which, when we soberly appreciate it, becomes immense.

#### A FELLOW-CREATOR.

The Maker of heaven and earth, of man and his culture, was not *alone* in a supreme activity during the great originating actions.

\* Here, of course, I say nothing about the modern view of a Supreme Deity, which is, however, of course, as we all acknowledge, not intellectually co-ordinated; we here especially look down upon "poor human reason."

† The doctrine of Mani does not intervene here, as it was extremely late.

Blasphemous as the tone of it may sound to some of us in the West and to the orthodox everywhere (if, indeed, it does not seem to some of us to be ridiculous), it is still none the less maintained as if self-evident. "There were indeed *Two First Spirits*, a better, they two and an evil, as to thought, as to word, as to deed." "And when these Two Spirits came together they made life and non-life, and how the world at last shall be ordered, for the saints (in the end) the Best Mind, but for the faithless the worse mental state. . . ."\* And the better One had no share in either originating or permitting the more painful of these two alternatives.

#### WAS THE DOCTRINE MERELY ACADEMIC?

But was not this a mere jugglery of thought worked out by dreamy doctrinaires, and vaguely held by a few vain hearers under exceptional circumstances and for short periods of time? *There is every reason to believe that it was held most seriously by hundreds of thousands at least, if not by millions,† throughout a large part of the great Persian Empire, and for successive generations.* And in every one of these epochs highly-gifted men came doubtless to the fore in those early centuries, and grasped the whole intellectual situation, feeling themselves deeply stirred by the character of the great idea.‡ Popularly, the external features of the theory degenerated with the passing-on of time, as, of course, they were necessitated to do till they finally became the familiar hypothesis of a God and a Devil with the latter thoroughly subordinated, but this process itself must have been only gradual. The case which the Babylonian Isaiah refers to was, however, not originally that. "I make light and create darkness; I make peace and create evil" was levelled at no "Satan," however promoted; a Rival God was thought of.

\* See Y. 30, 3, 4, as if the "Best Mind" were heaven, and the "Worst Mind" hell. Cf. "Gāthas," pp. 435-440.

† Not that the bulk of the masses had any interior understanding of it.

‡ Just as the disciples of Mani were later moved by similar considerations.



And must we not note also the strange foreshadowing of modern pessimism? Who could have dreamed that our present prevailing (?) Philosophical systems should have been first stated in their principle by the pious sage of Iran? Yet if "sublated" evil is the complement of good, and a co-eternal and inexorable condition, what is this, barring the personifications, but the Zoroastrian system of an eternal [co-existing evil element as the necessary complement to all that is favourable, and its indispensable condition—nay, an indispensable condition to existence. See Hegel everywhere, who, indeed, in all historic probability, echoed the idea as it finds its root in the Avesta, through Jakob Boehme and the Gnostics.

## A TRIP TO THE ANTIPODES.\*

BY GEORGE BROWN, M.D.

A LARGE steamship is very like a huge, living animal—a leviathan afloat, whether lying at rest in the harbour or gently forcing her way through the trackless and smooth waste of waters bounding the horizon on which she makes a path for herself, gliding pleasantly along with little to oppose or impede her progress as she rushes onward to her destination, but entirely different when the ocean shows his strength and the wind rouses his latent passions into action; then she seems to fight and wrestle with her opponent, groaning and creaking under the stress of the conflict, and apparently pleased and happy when the contest is over and she has been the conqueror in the duel. Such occasions arise unexpectedly and in the open sea during a voyage, and there are also particular localities where the ocean seems to have a spite at man venturing without leave in some parts of her dominion, and making him feel what a puny creature he is in this elemental strife. During a slight hurricane it was pleasant to go to the prow of the vessel and see her sharp nose clearing a way for herself calmly and persistently like Tam O'Shanter:

“The storm without, might rair † and rustle,  
Tam did na mind the storm a whistle.”

Time has quite altered since the Mediterranean was the *mare magnum* (the great sea) of the world, when nothing but sailing vessels were on its bosom, when storms arose, and the shouting of the sailors and the creaking of the cordage gave evidence of their danger, and when Old Neptune with his trident had command over it and sent Æolus and his comrades back to their hollow caves, and so allayed the storm and thus saved the lives of Pius Æneas and his devoted crews. Neptune is now quite dead, though at times he makes a brief appearance when the vessels

\* Continued from our April issue, pp. 288-300. † Roar.

cross the Line. The Atlantic and the Pacific are now the chief water highways of commerce and civilization, and empires greater than the ancient dominions of the old world have such intercommunication with each other as in early ages was quite impossible. Columbus, Vasca de Gama, and Magellan, opened quite a new world to the inhabitants of the Eastern Hemisphere. Dampier was the first British navigator who landed in Australia, and about a hundred years later, Cook visited a great part of the Southern Continent, and also New Zealand. Captain Fitzroy in the *Beagle* explored the whole coast of Australia, etc., and brought to our knowledge the vast extent of the area of these islands during his voyage to the Southern Seas from 1837 to 1843. Since then a great change has taken place in them, and instead of being territories inhabited by roving barbarians whose chief employment was fighting and killing each other, we now find large cities and extensive fertile plains with an industrious population whose occupations and interests and improvements are

"To scatter plenty o'er a smiling land,  
And read their history in a nation's eyes."

Fortunately, the two countries, with the neighbouring islands, are quite settled under a Parliament and laws of their own, and the inhabitants are as loyal to the Mother Country, or even more so, than the people at home, as they sent a contingent of troops to the South African War, and many a colonial soldier laid down his life—*et dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos*—as Victor Hugo relates of the Highlander at Waterloo.

Mr. Donald McDonald of the *Melbourne Argus* has written a book on the war, and gave lectures upon it in New Zealand, and this is what he says of the home troops: "I shall never while I live cease to admire the soldier, and, above all, the British officer, though perhaps the officer is much the same all the world over. He has no rifle, no cover; with his useless sword in hand, he strides bravely on, pointing the way, a conspicuous target

for every sharpshooter on the ridge above him. It is the correct thing to do. It is the caste of the officer as compared with the man, and it is magnificent" (from "How We Kept the Flag Flying").

The ancients held very crude notions of the world, its antiquity, its form, the changes that have taken place in it before and after man's first appearance on it, its chronology and other questions that have created a great deal of curiosity and discussion, evolving many hypotheses to determine when it was first created, and the changes that have taken place in it since it was first inhabited by man. St. Augustine, who lived in the fifth century, and who at that time was reckoned a very learned man, affirmed that the earth was a flat surface, and the sky as a dome was stretched over it like a mantle, and it must be interesting to our friends at the Antipodes to know that he asserted "that it is impossible that there should be inhabitants on the opposite side of the earth, since no such race is recorded by Scripture among the descendants of Adam." And there was also the unanswerable argument against the earth as a sphere, "that in the Day of Judgment men on the other side of the globe could not see the Lord descending through the air." Such was the general belief of the most learned men in the early ages of Christianity, and such views were held to be infallible by the early Church, and whoever opposed them were anathematized, and many suffered persecution. This state of things lasted for more than a thousand years, when Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, Newton, and other learned astronomers, entirely overturned the false system which was upheld by the Popes and ecclesiastical authorities of that age, and our Antipodean friends ought to have a feeling of gratitude towards the astronomers and sea captains who demolished this long-established doctrine, as every time they walk they entirely forget that they ought to fall off mother earth.

The discoveries of these mariners created quite a revolution in the old countries of the Eastern Hemisphere, and

vessels were equipped to seize hold of these territories of the New World, as it was called, and Spain and Portugal took possession of vast tracts of country and islands on the coasts. As Bishop Berkeley said, "Westward the course of empire takes its way," and England seized her share in taking possession of land so easily captured, the greater part of North America falling to her lot, and many islands adjoining the West Continent. Towns on the West and South of England rapidly increased in size and importance from the shipping sent out from these ports to meet the trade which quickly sprang up in the Western Continent and the islands adjoining. In 1377 a poll-tax was made of the towns of England, and this town (Colchester) stood twelfth in the order of populousness. Here is a list of ten towns, copied from the Rev. Edward L. Cutt's book, giving the population of ten of these chief towns compared with their present population : \*

Towns.	Population in 1377.	Population in 1901.
London ...	35,000	4,536,541 + 792,314† = 5,328,855
York ...	11,000	77,914
Bristol ...	9,500	339,042
Plymouth ...	7,000	107,636
Coventry ...	7,000	69,978
Norwich ...	6,000	111,733
Lincoln ...	5,000‡	48,784
Salisbury ...	5,000§	20,089 + 8,268   = 28,357
Lynn ...	4,700	21,613
Colchester ...	4,500	38,373¶
	<hr/> 94,700*	<hr/> 5,379,971

The population in these towns is fifty-six times greater than in 1377, in spite of the great emigration from many of them during the past 200 years.

And here is a list of towns of which probably most were not known in 1377, or whose population was too small to

\* Kelly's "Local Government Year-book," 1905.

† Middlesex.

‡ And a little over.

§ And a little under.

|| Amesbury.

¶ Should be 40,000; as the troops were in Africa during the taking of the Census.

be noted. These names are given alphabetically ; all above 100,000 marked 1, above 200,000, 2, and so on.

Birkenhead	... 1 W., S.P.	Manchester	... 6 M.
Birmingham	... 5 M.	Newcastle-on-Tyne	2 E., M., P.
Blackburn	... 1 M.	Norwich	... 1 M.
Bolton	... 1 M.	Nottingham	... 2 M.
Bradford	... 2 M.	Oldham	... 1 M.
Brighton	... 1 M., P.	Plymouth	... 1 S.P., S.
Bristol	... 3 W., S.P.	Portsmouth	... 1 S.P., S.
Croydon	... 1 M.	Preston	... 1 M.
Derby	... 1 M.	Salford	... 2 M.
Gateshead	... 1 E., M.	Sheffield	... 4 M.
Halifax	... 1 M.	Southampton	... 1 S., P.
Kingston-upon-Hull	2 E., P.	South Shields	... 1 E., S.P., M.
Leeds	... 4 M.	Sunderland	... 1 E., S.P.
Leicester	... 2 M.	West Ham	... 2 M.
Liverpool	... 7 W., S.P.	Cardiff	... 1 W., S.P., M.

W. Towns on the west coast.

E. Towns on the east coast.

S.P. Sea-ports.

M. Mercantile towns.

S. Towns on the south coast.

P. Ports.

This synoptical view of the chief towns of England at the present time will give an idea of the comparative populousness of the country in 1377, and the enormous increase which has taken place since then in spite of the emigration which has been continually going on from the opening up of the Western Hemisphere and the new colonies in the Southern Ocean. London stands by itself, and its record surpasses all others either in ancient or modern history, whether in size, populousness, prosperity, or advancement in those arts which elevate humanity, and, in spite of many obstacles, has striven to improve the civilization not only of its own population but of the whole Empire.

In 1492 Columbus discovered America, and from that time to Captain Cook's voyage to Australia in 1770—a period of nearly 300 years—a knowledge of the coasts of countries before unknown was made, and since then the internal state also of large territories have been opened up by numerous travellers, and new cities, new races of men, new animals, birds, fishes, trees, etc., have been discovered ; and many rivers, like the Nile, long a mystery as to their origin,

have had their sources made known. In 1819, the first steamship crossed the Atlantic, and from that time man's dominion over the fickle watery element may be recognised as established in the regularity, punctuality, and increased speed with which steamships now accomplish their journeys, and carry multitudes of emigrants to all parts of the globe.

In the coasting steamer in which I voyaged, we had on the Sundays excellent services from two Wesleyan ministers on their way to Melbourne, and on sailing to Invercargill the Rev. Mr. Serpyll, of Timaru, had service in the morning and evening, well adapted to our position at sea, and which was quite appreciated by the passengers on board; and at Timaru in New Zealand and Berry in Australia the churches were well attended, and the sermons quite on a par with those of the old country.

The pleasantest voyage I made throughout all my ocean peregrinations was in the fine colonial coasting vessel, the *Moeraki*, under the charge of Captain Gibb, whose steamer was a model of cleanliness and perfection in its management and discipline. Everything went like clockwork, and the vessel was clean as a new pin, and the excellent meals with nutritious food and attention of the waiters were everything that could be desired. Altogether it was a model of what a passenger vessel ought to be, and reminded me of the fine vessels on the Clyde, where there is the same perfect management, and everything done to make the voyage pleasant for the tourists. What I always wondered at was that such an able sea captain was not in command of one of the fine large ocean steamships that ply on the Atlantic between the Mother Country and the colonies, as his knowledge of the sea, his constant attention to the course of the vessel, and the welfare of his passengers, night and day, were never lost sight of.

The railways in the two colonies are not so well managed as in the Mother Country, and it would be a great improvement if some porters and attendants on the railways

here were induced to leave and take up their duties on the colonial lines.

The book of Nature is a large volume with many leaves, and these have not always a regular sequence, some being altogether torn out and others apparently quite redundant. It requires a keen eye and some knowledge of the various chapters to make the different pages correspond with each other, as the type may be at some places very small—so small, indeed, as to be scarcely visible—or, in other places, so large that it may be seen at a glance, and read easily at a considerable distance. Some also may be so broken up and mixed, the small with the large, that it may greatly perplex most readers to see any sense in the hieroglyphics, yet many adepts can read the characters at a glance, and unfold the mystery concealed in the mixture of broken and worn-out lines.

Geology has its alphabet written on the rocks in indelible characters, and geologists can read the history of the earth and its changes, from the remotest ages to the present time, from these rocky bones which support its structure. Ireland and Spain at one time were united, as England was with the Continent, and it has been surmised by some that the Continent at that time took in the Azores, whilst the Sargasso Sea, with its seaweed *Sargassum bacciferum*, remains as evidence of the outpost of this great continent, and the ends of the chain may be seen in Killarney and the rocky mountains of the Asturias. Critias, the grandfather of Plato, makes mention of such a continent, and Plato in his "Timæus" relates that his grandfather had the information from Solon himself. He (Critias) says: "Solon was my master: now Solon had travelled and resided in Egypt, whence he brought back philosophical and political information which he taught the Greeks. He learned science from the priests of Sair, a town in the Delta, where one of the priests, who was learned in the science of history, said to him, 'O Solon! Solon! you Greeks are as yet but children, and know not the history of Egypt. But



we preserve in our sacred books a written history of more than nine thousand years ! You know only of one deluge, but it was preceded by many others. . . . Athens, which you believe to be new, is very ancient ; and I will tell you how your Greece preserved to us Egyptians our liberty by resisting the enormous forces which come from the shores of the sea of Atlantis. This sea at that time surrounded an island not far from the pillars of Hercules, and larger than Asia and Libya put together. Between it and the Continent were some smaller islands. This gigantic country was called Atlantis. It was densely peopled and very prosperous, governed by powerful kings, who seized the whole of Libya as far as Egypt, and of Europe as far as the country of the Tyrrhenians ; they reduced all the nations on this side of the pillars of Hercules to slavery. The ancient Greeks then rose up and defeated them, and delivered Egypt from slavery. But a still greater misfortune awaited the Atlantis, for at that time, when there were earthquakes and inundations the island was swallowed up. The inhabitants of the island, which was larger than Europe and Asia together, disappeared in a single night. This is why the sea is not navigable on account of the shoals formed by the submerged land.' "

Of this vast Atlantic continent, Madeira, the Azores, and the Canaries are said to be fragments, and the flora and fauna of these islands would seem to indicate a continuous connection of dry land between Europe and America, for they partake largely of the characteristics of the old and new worlds. The ichthyology of the Canaries resembles more that of the east coast of America than that of the Mediterranean and African coasts. Many of the plants of the Canaries are also of an American type, while others are found in the Asturias and the West of Ireland, and others still are identical with the plants of Sicily and Syria. The fauna of Madeira and the Fortunate Isles is peculiar, and the type of the land-shells is quite as remarkable as that of the insects, and indicate that these

islands are mountain-tops of the submerged Atlantic. The *Sisyrinchium auceps*, *Naias flexilis*, and *Eriocaulon septangulare*, which occur in Ireland, and also which last is still to be found in a few islands on the West of Scotland show the same affinity. Besides these evidences of a connection between places so remote from each other, in Spain the Eskuara or Basque language in the Pyrenees has its nearest affinity to the polysynthetic languages of Peru and Mexico, and the two have a striking similarity; besides, other coincidences and practices similar to both appear to connect the two countries. For many of these statements I am indebted to a book written by the Rev. Hugh Macmillan, LL.D., F.R.S.E.

The London-pride (*Saxifraga umbrosa*) also claims affinity with its relatives in Ireland and the Spanish or Iberian flora, as it grows as modest and as pretty in these countries as here, where, though its nobility of birth goes further back than most pretentious flowers, it graces the cottager's and workman's little gardens, and remains steadfast in its likeness to its far-off ancestors; and quite a large number of plants claim kindred with others on the mountain ranges on the Continent and in distant Atlantic islands.

The earthquake which destroyed Lisbon in 1755, and whose far-reaching disturbances affected 700,000 miles of the globe, was felt in the Alps, Sweden, in the Antilles, Antigua, Barbadoes, and Marlinigur; in the great Canadian lakes, in Thuringia, and in Northern Germany, and the shores of the Baltic; in Ireland and on Loch Lomond in Scotland. In Cadiz the sea rose 64 feet, and it is computed that the area of its movement was four times greater than the whole of Europe. Thirty thousand people were killed, and yet the shock lasted only ten minutes at nine o'clock in the morning, when the people were in the churches at the Feast of All Saints. The small earthquake at Colchester took place about the same hour on April 22, 1884, when I was at breakfast, and the wall of the room bent inward like a bow, and, fortunately, in a few

moments became quite erect and assumed its usual upright position without any crack or seam on its surface ; upstairs many articles lost their equilibrium and fell to the ground.

Ptolemy, the Egyptian astronomer, possessed a Babylonian record of eclipses going back 747 years, and Alexander the Great sent to Aristotle a statement or account in manuscript of eclipses that went back 1,903 years, and there can be no doubt that Egypt and Assyria were more advanced in the knowledge of astronomy and mathematics and other sciences before the brightest era of Greek literature. Thus it may be that this so often called mythical occurrence of the disappearance of Atlantis may have some element of truth in the frightful calamity that overtook it before the advent of Greek history, and the Egyptians and Assyrians may have taken cognizance of the disappearance of the Atlantis continent before the Greeks knew anything about it. It is very likely that the Egyptians, who were greatly famed for their knowledge of geography, astronomy, and mathematics, might have in their library of 700,000 volumes some account of the changes of the earth's surface, and it is unfortunate that this priceless monument of knowledge, collected at great expense and written by the most enlightened people of that age, and collected from all parts of the ancient world, should have been ruthlessly destroyed by the barbarians who conquered Egypt during and after the Roman ascendancy.

It has also been written in large geological characters that this country has gone through many changes, being at some times joined to the Continent and at others disjoined. Ramsay, in Lecture V. of his book on the geology of Great Britain, says that at Cromer, in the forest-bed, there were found the bones of the *Rhinoceros Etruscus*, *Elephas meridionales*, and the great mammoth (*Elephas primigenius*). These animals formed a group of Pachydermata that inhabited the North of Europe, America, and Asia, and could have only been there by England being joined to the Continent. Besides these were also the *Rhinoceros*

*tichorinus*, hippopotami, horses, the great deer or Irish elk (*Cervus megaceros*), the reindeer, the wild ass, a large bear (*Ursus spelæus*), a tiger, the leopard, the lynx, the wild cat (now existing), the *Hyæna spelæa*, wolves, foxes, otters, beavers, etc.

The time had now come when it was necessary to retire from New Zealand, after having visited the chief cities in it as well as those in Australia and Tasmania. When Boswell and Johnson were quitting one of the isles of the Hebrides, Johnson hinted that Boswell might make an allusion to their finally leaving that region, where the lexicographer had spent, as he declared, a very happy holiday. Boswell at once repeated a line from Virgil, in which Æneas expresses his regret at having left Dido's country: "Invitus, Regina, tuo de litore cessi" (Unwilling, O Queen, I departed from thy coast). My feelings exactly harmonized with the Trojan hero, and my memory is stored with the kindness and urbanity of many of its inhabitants, with whom I had the honour of making an acquaintance; and I look back with nothing but unalloyed pleasure at the time spent in the Southern Hemisphere with the colonists. I had the good fortune to meet with two gentlemen of my own profession at Timaru, who had come from the Mother Country and settled there—Dr. Hogg and Dr. Dryden—and on many evenings we discussed matters relating to our profession, as all do in like circumstances, the diseases in the colony being the same as those in the Mother Country; and their knowledge and *camaraderie* gave me many pleasant hours.

It was raining when Timaru was left behind, and there was actually snow—about 2 inches deep—on the station when we reached Christchurch, which was uncommon, though it was winter. On arriving at Lyttelton, the screw steamer *Mōana* was waiting our arrival to take us to Auckland, making stoppages at several seaports on our way, the chief being Wellington, where we remained several hours. It is a fine city, with broad streets and excellent

business houses of all sorts. We touched at a few towns on the seaboard going north, and if too stormy to land had communication by a small steamer, reaching Auckland after a very pleasant passage, though sometimes a little rough, the Pacific Ocean not always deserving its name.

Auckland, the old capital of the colony, a greatly-populated and beautifully-situated city of the North Island, lies on the east coast, with a good harbour. Here I remained a few days with my nephew, and crossed the isthmus to the Manuka Harbour, the distance between the east and west coasts being about seven miles. There is very little traffic here, and it is used as a watering-place during the season. Mount Eden, at some distance from Auckland Harbour, catches the eye of everyone entering the city, and is of volcanic origin, as the large round mouth of the extinct crater can testify, and being about 900 feet high a splendid view can be obtained of the surrounding country, and few prospects could be finer than the varied expanse of scenery—*islands, mountains, and the encompassing sea surrounding the whole.*

Looking back, my memory brings to me the lovely country I was leaving, with its industrious population, its large pastures, and abundance of sheep and cattle. When I was near Arundel the fields lay expanded over a large plain, and Milton's lines crossed my memory :

“Look once more, ere we leave this specular mount,  
Westward, much nearer by south-west, behold  
Where on the *Ægean* shore a city stands,  
Built nobly, pure the air and light the soil,” etc.\*

—where six horses, harnessed together, were ploughing the soil with three ploughshares to get the work done quickly, with no past history to look back upon, the future being the sole object-lesson to make the earth yield her increase, and the sheep to provide food for man. Quite different from the Old Country, when Dr. Johnson visited the Western Isles of Scotland, and his thoughts looked back

some centuries on the scene he viewed, and he says: "We were now treading that illustrious island, which was once the luminary of the Caledonian region, where savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion. To abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible if it were endeavoured, and would be foolish if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses, whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me and from my friends be such rigid philosophy as may conduct us indifferent and unmoved on any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plains of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona." There is no past history of any worth regarding New Zealand and the Southern Hemisphere, but if we turn to Greece we shall find a high state of culture, and find one man very much resembling Dr. Johnson in his intellectual and didactic powers. When Socrates was condemned to death, his serenity in the crisis that awaited him affected him but very lightly. He says to his friends: "O, gentlemen of Athens, either comply with Anytus (his enemy) or not; either acquit me, or not, for I shall never act otherwise than I have done, though I was sure several times to die. My accusers may cause me to be put to death, but cannot hurt me. I am not concerned for myself, but you, lest by their false and malicious suggestions you should be induced to pass sentence of condemnation against an innocent person, your faithful adviser and benefactor, and sin against the gift of God in raising me up to exhort and press you to true virtue." Turn to Johnson's death-bed, and what a contrast! "When Johnson was at St. Andrews, the professors invited him to a sumptuous entertainment. Johnson ate his dinner in silence, and all seemed awed by the presence of the mighty stranger. At length, in the

hope of banishing the awkwardness of this ill-timed solemnity, one of the professors exclaimed: 'Dr. Johnson, I hope you have made a good dinner.' 'Sir,' replied Johnson, 'I did not come into Scotland to be entertained with good dinners, but to see savage men and savage manners, and I have not been disappointed.' This, surely, was the speech of a far greater barbarian than any whom he was addressing" (from "*Chalmeria*," by John Joseph Gurney).

They ought to have changed places; and yet Johnson was a very good man, though his behaviour was far from pleasant. He was endowed with great intellectual gifts, and a ready and tenacious memory, yet the morbid state of his body, oppressed in all likelihood with tuberculosis in his brain, rendered him captious and irritable without any sufficient cause, and his chief bodily organs were found to be extensively diseased after his death; and even now he stands the great literary Colossus of his time. Mr. Leslie Stephens, in "*English Men of Letters*," has written a short and interesting biography of him.

We entered the United States twin-screw steamer *Sierra*, of 6,200 tons, and sailed from Auckland on August 12 of last year, reaching Pago Pago on August 16, Honolulu on the 23rd, and San Francisco on Monday the 29th, taking seventeen days on the passage. It was a fine, strongly-built vessel, but very badly managed: the lavatory on entering the first few days gave forth a most insalubrious smell; the sleeping-berth with which I was furnished had a usual temperature of about 90°; cockroaches infested it, and a large rat also made its appearance during one night. The decks were sluiced with water late in the morning, and a pipe leading from the upper roof ran three days without being repaired, and made quite a mess for the passengers. The menials often took possession of the seats of the passengers, and sat or rolled in them in their dirty clothes. A few of the menials of the vessel were decent fellows, but a large number had no idea of what

civility or good behaviour was. I had never seen such an inattentive class of servants on ship-board. The captain was generally invisible, and the only time I got a glimpse of him was to observe him peeping out at one of the cabin-doors. Nevertheless, we all got safely to San Francisco.

I stayed at San Francisco about three days. It is a pleasant town, has a fine public park, with greenhouses in which are some most beautiful flowers. Humming-birds are to be seen posing above the flowers and inserting their probosces and sucking the nectar from the receptacle. I went across the Sierra Mountains by train, and arrived in New York in four and a half days, journeying all the time. The United States is a magnificent country, with fertile land and fine crops, but it seems to me a decaying nation with much intellectual vigour, but with most small moral principle. Money is the god, and everything apparently can be done for money. I met a few good men, as good as can be found anywhere, and it was a pleasant interlude to have a chat with such; but the dollar was the pre-eminent goal, to which the great majority seemed to fix their eyes. New York is a fine city, with a capacious harbour of fourteen square miles, where vessels of all sizes can enter all the year round. It was Sunday morning when I entered it from the station after the long journey of 3,286 miles from San Francisco, and it did not seem at all like Sunday, as boys were playing at football in the street nearest the harbour, whilst others were engaged in games of whist.

When Cyrus had conquered Cræsus, and after peace was settled, Cræsus suggested to him that by the multitudes of presents that he made he would be a beggar, when it was in his power to lay up at home mighty treasures of gold for the use of one. It is said that Cyrus then asked him thus: "What sums do you think I should now have in possession if I had been hoarding up gold, as you bid me, ever since I have been in power?" And that Cræsus, in reply, named some mighty sum; and that Cyrus to this said: "Well, Cræsus, do you send with Hystaspes here



some person that you have most confidence in, and do you, Hystaspes (said he) go about to my friends, and tell them that I am in want of money for a certain affair (and in reality I am in want of it), and bid them furnish me with as much as they are each of them able to do; and that, writing it down and signing it, they deliver the letter to Cræsus's officer to bring me." Then writing down what he had said, and signing it, he gave it to Hystaspes to carry it to his friends, but added in the letter to them all that they should receive Hystaspes as his friend. After they had gone round and Cræsus's officer brought the letters, Hystaspes says: "O Cyrus, my King! you must now make use of me as a rich man, for here do I attend you, abounding in presents that have been made me upon the account of your letter." Cyrus, upon this, said: "This, then, is one treasure to me, Cræsus; but look over the others, and reckon up what riches there are ready for me in case I want for my own use." Cræsus, upon calculation, is said to have found many times the sum that he told Cyrus he might now have had in his treasury if he hoarded. When it appeared to be thus, Cyrus is reported to have said: "You see, Cræsus, that I have my treasures too; but you bid me hoard them up, to be envied and hated for them; you bid me place hired guards upon them, and in those to put my trust. But I make my friends rich, and reckon them to be treasures to me, and guards both to myself and to all things of value that belong to us, and such as are more to be trusted than if I set up a guard of hirelings. Besides, there is another thing that I will tell you, what the gods have wrought into the souls of men, and by it have made them all equally indigent—this, Cræsus, I am not able to get the better of. For I am, as others are, insatiably greedy of riches. But I reckon I differ from most others in this, that they have acquired more than is sufficient for them; some of those treasures they bury underground, and some they let decay and spoil, and others they give themselves a great deal of trouble about in

telling, in measuring, in weighing, airing, and watching them; and though they have all these things at home, they neither eat more than they are able to bear, for they would burst; nor do they put on more clothes than they can bear, for they would suffocate, but all their superfluous treasures they have only for business and trouble. Wherever I serve the gods, and am even desirous of more, and when I have acquired it, out of what I find to be more than suffices me, I satisfy the wants of my friends, and by enriching men with it, and by doing them kindness, I gain their goodwill and their friendship, and obtain security and glory—things that do not corrupt and spoil, and do not distress one by over-abounding. But glory, the more there is of it the greater and more noble it is, and the lighter to bear; and those that bear it, it often makes the lighter and easier. And that you may be sensible of this, Cræsus (said he), they that possess the most and have most in their custody, I do not reckon the happiest men, for then would guards upon the walls be the happiest of all men, for they have the custody of all that there is in all cities; but the person that can acquire the most with justice and use the most with honour, him do I reckon the happiest man, and this I reckon to be riches." And as he expressed these things, so his historian says, he apparently practised them.

Ioläus, also, in the "*Heraclidæ*" of Euripides, speaks even more strongly against the love of money, when in the first sentence of the play he says: "This has long since been my established opinion: the just man is born for his neighbours; but he who has a mind bent upon gain is both useless to the city and disagreeable to deal with, but best for himself."

Mr. Lincoln Steffins has written a book on the same subject, entitled "*The Shame of the Cities*," in which he declares that he has made a systematic inquiry into the state of municipal politics in the large American cities—New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and Min-

neapolis. His reports disclose an almost incredible picture of corruption and terrorism, and one of the greatest of his indictments is that which charges the great business interests with complicity in these disgraceful proceedings.

Mr. Henry Frederick Amiel states in his book, "The Journal Intime," translated by Mr. H. Ward in 1888: "For the Americans life means devouring, incessant activity. They must win gold, predominance, power; they must crush rivals, subdue nature. They have their heart set on the means, and never for an instant think on the end. They confound being with individual being, and the expansion of life with happiness. This means that they do not live by the soul, that they ignore the immutable and eternal bustle at the circumference of their existence because they cannot penetrate to the centre. They are restless, eager, positive, because they are superficial. To what end all this stir, noise, greed, struggle? It is all a mere being stunned and deafened" ("Essays on Criticism," by Matthew Arnold, Second Series).

Even Anacreon, who lived 2,445 years ago, speaks of the disastrous effects of the inordinate thirst for gold. He says:

"What avails ingenious worth,  
Sprightly wit, or noble birth?  
All these virtues useless prove:  
Gold alone engages love.  
May he be completely curst  
Who the sleeping mischief first  
Wak'd to life and, vile before,  
Stamp'd with worth the sordid ore.  
Gold creates in brethren strife;  
Gold destroys the parent's life;  
Gold produces civil jars,  
Murders, massacres, and wars;  
But the worst effect of gold,  
Love, alas! is bought and sold."

*Translated by FRANCIS FAWKE, M.A.*

Plato and Cicero, probably the two greatest writers on ethics in what we usually call the heathen world, called the four predominant axioms to guide mankind in their conduct

through the bewildering maze of life the Cardinal Virtues—viz., Justice, which Cicero defines as giving to everyone his due; Prudence, the ability to choose between good and evil; Fortitude is displayed in overcoming toils and dangers; and Temperance in putting aside sensual enjoyments; and there can be no doubt that the best men in the age in which they lived acted up to this high ideal. Prudence was reckoned the first of all the virtues, the Greeks calling it wisdom, and it is mentioned four times in the Bible—three in the Old Testament and once in the New Testament—and a different word is used for it each time in the Septuagint. The word fortitude is not once mentioned in the English Bible, though there are synonyms equivalent to its meaning and value, and temperance is mentioned three times, and only in the New Testament—the same word each time in Greek. Justice is, no doubt, the greatest virtue of the four, as it is not personal as the others are, being an entirely social power, and in many places in the Bible is translated righteousness, and is reckoned the greatest attribute of the Deity, but in America is regarded as of least value. It is, however, the golden chain that links all mankind together in social unity and well-being, if faithfully carried out.

It appears as if making money in the United States were very like horse-racing in England, as a ring is made and a report is sent abroad that a certain horse is sure to win, and bets are at once placed on it. But the favourite has been tampered with, and turns out a frightful failure. Thus trusts, syndicates, etc., are made in secret; a ring is made, and a few men buy up the chief, best business houses connected with a certain trade, and a low price is for a time put on the article bought, lower than its proper value, and the little men who are in this particular branch of business are ruined and brought to the ground. Then the price is raised, and fortunes are made. The Government ought to lay a very heavy tax on such businesses as are joined in this particular traffic, as it leads to getting

money without any great expense in labour, and often large numbers of operatives are cast adrift helpless and homeless.

We had a very pleasant passage across the Atlantic in the steady, easy-going vessel of the Cunard Company line, the *Carpathia*, and had nine days on the sea, getting telegrams from different ships as we sailed homewards, the distance between the two ports being about 3,000 miles. We met several vessels on our way; they were generally at some distance from us, quite different from the isolation felt on going to the South, where it was a very rare occurrence to meet any vessels. The first place we reached homewards was Queenstown, where we called late at night, and here some passengers landed, and next day the coast of the Old Country was seen, and we steamed, amidst a crowd of vessels, to Liverpool, passing New Brighton and Birkenhead on our way up the river. We quickly got to land, had our luggage examined, and went off in the train to London, which we reached about ten o'clock at night, the distance between the two cities being 201 miles, taking about four and a half hours.

The whole journey by water from London to Wellington, New Zealand, going south, comprised 13,345 miles, visiting Plymouth, Teneriffe, Capetown, Hobart, Wellington. Going north by the Pacific, we started from Auckland; reached Pago Pago, but the weather was too stormy to enter the harbour; Honolulu, where we remained about a day; and reached San Francisco in nineteen days; took the train to New York, and boarded the *Carpathia*, reaching Liverpool, from whence we departed at once to London on our arrival at the Liverpool dock, the whole journey by water and land comprising 12,167 miles, the difference between the two routes giving 1,178 miles less on the return journey. To travel in different vessels is like visiting different countries, from the variety of the human element they contain and the characteristic behaviour they exhibit, not only of the passengers, but especially of the crew, from

the captain to the most humble menial on board, and I must give the palm to the Yankee crew for the apparently high ideal they have of their duties, and the calm indifference or attempted lofty air with which these are performed. The most pleasant part of the journey from Auckland was in seeing the old Mother Country again, and getting into the train at Liverpool and rapidly rushing southward, viewing the small fields spread out like small square pocket-handkerchiefs, with trim, neat hedges. In one little field of this sort I saw three ploughmen busily at work, each with two horses and a plough—six horses and three ploughs engaged in working a four- or five-acre field!

In looking back and calling to mind the different places visited, New Zealand appears to view the best country to settle in for those who are willing to work and turn their hand to any employment ready for them to take up. The people there are in enterprise and energy and social feelings very like the population of the Old Land—only in many respects better, as they keep themselves cleaner in their work, and don't drink spirits to the same extent—and they have a country that can respond and give back for their work done a much greater reward, so that they can soon buy and live in a house of their own. Wages are much higher, and large tracts of land are waiting for the immigrant. In the country districts of Australia it is much the same—very like the country places in the Old Land—with farms dotted over the landscape, but with, in many places, a large number of fine, handsome big trees standing dead, without leaves, like an arboreal cemetery, preparing the ground for pasturing sheep and oxen, the bark being cut round about 4 or 5 feet from the ground, and so killing them. Some of them lying prone, and one especially large one I saw, about 100 feet long, hollow inside, but filled up with red sand, with which the ants had filled it, the ants living near in a column 4 or 5 feet high, about 2 feet broad, representing a large, well-defined cone.

The New Zealand people are worthy of the new land in

which they dwell, and are all proud of it : quite different from the United States, that magnificent land being far superior to its inhabitants.

I stayed in Dunedin one night, and was charmed with the view of this romantic city from the house-top of my cousin's abode. It was raining whilst I was there, and it was in this respect somewhat like its namesake. It has fine streets, and a small isthmus at the seashore, which might be cut through and give greater facilities for the entrance of ships. I took the train north to Timaru the next morning after my arrival, and, buying a newspaper, read its chief contents on my way north, and was quite charmed with a very long account of the financial statement for the year, with many other items connected with matters affecting the working of the administrative branch of the Legislature, and other matters connected with the welfare of the community, as to health and the necessary expenditure to meet the claims which improvements in many parts of this comparatively new country call for. It was an excellent manifesto, drawn up with considerable care and a just appreciation of the work that had been done for the colony, and the work and expenditure for the coming year which the progress of the colony required. It was a clear, open, well-argued and arranged statement, and it was quite a pleasure to read it in the railway carriage, and its truthfulness and openness reminded me of Juvenal's just man—"Qui libera possit verba animi proferre, et vitam, impendere vero"—a man who can declare the free sentiments of his mind and lay down his life for the truth ; and such a leader Mr. Seddon has shown himself to be in the management of the affairs of the colony.

In an interesting book written by the Rev. J. C. Wood, entitled "Man and Beast," full of anecdotes about the lower creation, he says on p. 417 : "It is a fact that, whenever man and beast are brought into contact, those which possess natures capable of elevation and development cleave to him, court him, and thrive by his presence

whereas those which are incapable of improvement perish before his presence.

"It is the same with the human race. When civilized man comes in contact with a barbarian, the latter rapidly tends towards civilization, throws off his barbarian customs, adopts those of the superior being, learns by degrees his arts and sciences, and so gradually merges into civilization. With the savage the case is different. He cannot learn anything good from the higher race. He may, and does, gain means by which to develop more completely his evil tendencies, but is utterly incapable of improvement. He can neither replenish the earth nor subdue it, and so he perishes before those who do, at all events, endeavour to carry out that which is the great mission of man. Wherever civilized man sets his foot, the savage dies out.

"Why this is we cannot say, but it is a fact long familiar to anthropologists. The Tasmanians have all gone. . . . But the strange thing is, that the race has died out for want of new birth, not because it was extirpated by slaughter. For years before that final extinction of the Tasmanian, no children were born.

"A similar phenomenon, though slower in its operation, is now to be seen in New Zealand. The native race, splendid specimens of the savage as they are, become yearly fewer and fewer in the presence of the European, the births falling far short of the deaths. Even in the vegetable world the same idea is carried out, and the grand tree-ferns, as large as our oaks, are perishing before the advance of the English clover. The lower creature, if it cannot be elevated by the presence of the higher, dies out; and the same rule holds good with man, with beast, and with plant. As a rule the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands have decreased more than a half since civilized man settled in these islands, and various diseases, unknown before they were discovered, have produced great mortality amongst them, as measles, whooping-cough, scarlet fever, leprosy, and other contagious maladies."



## A TRIP ROUND SUNNY CEYLON.

BY ALFRED EDMUND MURRELL.

A LONG spell in the hot, moist-laden air of Colombo, or amid the somewhat lonesome confines of a tea estate, serve as strong incentives to yearn for cool breezes and less shackled surroundings. We long to shake off the tedium of uneventful days, to forsake the dust and the red-brown roads, to be absolved from tinders and menacing kanganies, and to gaze on other scenes than the wide, but unrelieved, range of uniform bushes with their dusky streams of basket-laden toilers.

We could not hie away to England with its wealth of charm, or to the bracing moors of the land beyond the border. Apart from the difficulty of obtaining the necessary leave, such hopes and prospects have few birthdays. Perforce we looked nearer afield, and, without much misgiving, decided on a trip round the sea-girt isle in one of the comfortable steamers of the island service.

Colombo Harbour, crowded with lines of ships and alive with commotion, presents an animated scene as we ascend the gangway of the steamer one Wednesday afternoon. The genial captain greets us on the poop and assuringly confirms our expectations of fine weather and smooth water. A casual glance around discerns a small group of fellow-voyagers, who, on after acquaintance, prove to be planters from the hills. This gives added zest, and we ken a pleasant table, gay gossip, and the delights of the green cloth.

The captain and pilot mount the bridge, moorings are loosened, the anchor heaved, "slow ahead" signalled to below, the propeller buzzes, and we glide out of the harbour through stately walls of masted steel. After rounding the magnificent breakwater, we are soon abreast of Colombo, trending the deep trough of the sunlit waters. Seen from

the sea, Colombo affords a splendid view. The city stands out *en masse* in bold, striking prominence, a wide, extensive area profusely dotted with long, broken patches of white and red. At scattered intervals the public buildings arrest the gaze. The eye easily picks out the spacious quarters of the military, the huge red structure of Galle Face Hotel, the Colombo Club rising from the green slopes of Galle Face, and the newly-built church nestling away in the hollow. Here and there a golden gleaming spire shoots upwards into the blue expanse. Away south stretches the palm-strewn shore with its fringe of deep green and glittering yellow strands. Beyond are glimpses of seaside bungalows peeping out against the wooded background, with their inviting gardens, that in the distance appear to creep away to the very edge of the waters. The white, gleaming, hill-perched hotel at Mount Lavinia, standing boldly out to sea, borders the wide, extensive view.

Presently Colombo fades from view, and we veer over to the starboard quarter and catch a parting glimpse of the fleeting glories of the setting sun. Away in the west the heavens are filled with sky splendours, an incomparable vista of gorgeous hues. The horizon is a sea of colour, a lustrous brilliancy for ever assuming meteoric designs and exquisite combinations. The waters scintillate with splashes of crimson, all around is robed in flaming gold.

At seven the bell rings for dinner. The punkah-rigged saloon below leaves nought to be desired, but, to enhance comfort, all meals are served on the poop, save on occasion when rough weather forbids. On assembling we find that, in addition to the captain and officers, our party numbers six. A happy number, too limited to allow of undesired grouping, and just large enough to banish all fear of monotony. Perchance the fact that for the nonce our fortunes are one serves to round the corners. We are on pleasure bent, and the moments wing merrily with gay gossip and interesting chatter of other men and distant cities. Anon, with a parting glance at the silvery loveliness

beyond, we hie away below to breeze-swept bunks and refreshing sleep. The golden light of the early sun streaming into the cabin awakens us the next morning. Down below teems with orderly confusion—the usual ship-board bustle that follows in the wake of every passenger greeting the morn at the same time, and desiring *en bloc* manifold sundry attentions. However, the “boys” are active, and things soon quieten down, save that one of the passengers who has under weigh his own particular sable friend is showering on the latter a benediction in vigorous Tamil—a powerful stream of terse, well-punctuated, staccato sentences delivered with wondrous precision, but somehow we cannot recall the like in either “Inge Va” or the Rev. Garter’s lyrics. Ascending the companion, we find the steamer is slowly gliding through the picturesque slopes of Galle Harbour to the anchorage beyond. Behind lies the glittering blue expanse, studded here and there with rude craft lazily making their way through the water.

Galle Harbour abounds with natural beauty. The thickly-wooded banks, green mounds, and luxuriant vegetation, with the calm belt below, give the picture as of a beautiful inland sea hidden away among the hills. The roadstead can now claim but little of its former greatness. Before us are one or two ocean nomads, a white painted pleasure yacht, looking gay and trim in the sunlight, and a small group of native vessels with furled sails.

The ship’s boat soon lands us at the jetty. An ivy-mantled old archway, erected by the Dutch, marks the entrance into the rambling streets. The town wears a drowsy air—all is hushed and quiet, and moves leisurely as if the morrow would serve to-day. The by-lanes seem deserted; the roads are shorn of commotion save for here and there a few passing groups of the populace and scattered lines of toiling bullock-carts. Yet withal the place attracts. There is a world of charm in its decayed buildings and lingering remnants of former prestige, the

wealth of deep-green foliage, peeping hollows, and picturesque nooks and corners. On climbing the ramparts a splendid view of the town and harbour unfolds, a magnificent panorama of far-stretching woodland and glittering waters. Except in the immediate vicinity of the fort only a few buildings are visible, but away to the east, perched on a hill, a Roman Catholic cathedral stands out in striking prominence—a huge massive pile.

Nothing could be more pleasant than our first breakfast aboard on the calm, serene waters of this beautiful land-locked harbour, with its gaily wooded banks and the sea beyond flashing with golden light. But for the absence of movement, the scene for all the world is like the festive deck of a pleasure yacht riding at anchor in the crowded waters of the Solent in the early morn of a lovely summer's day.

On the afternoon of the fourth day we enter Trincomalee harbour. On passing through the narrow entrance channel a scene of unusual beauty breaks upon the view. As far as the eye can reach lies a glorious panorama of luxuriant tropical scenery, a vast amphitheatre of waving palms and dense woodland, topped by clusters of tree-crested hills. Here and there, scattered along the shore, the red-tiled roofs of picturesque bungalows peep out from among the green, and graceful flower gardens ablaze with colour creep away to the margin of the waters. Away to the west on the rising slopes of the hills the sylvan splendour is studded with large white patches, the quarters of the military. Downwards lies the blue serenity of far-stretching limpid water winding away into rambling bays; over its glassy surface groups of fishing craft idly float, their brown sails drooping and half filled.

The steamer anchors for the night. Presently the full-orbed moon rises from out of the sea beyond, lighting up the hills and the far expanse of still waters. All around reigns a scene of supreme beauty, a superb silvery illumined loveliness that few things could surpass. The eager glance

wanders over the outspread brilliance, delighted to pursue the infinite variety of lustred splendour—the sequestered valleys with their white houses, the picturesque bays, the soaring, radiantly clad heights. Not a sound is heard save the shrill clarion notes ringing out from the ramparts, or the occasional ripple of a passing boat; over all rests the profound repose which the sea and the desert alone can give.

Early the next morning we set out on a somewhat long drive to the famous hot springs, situate about seven miles from the town. For some distance the route lies along a patch that skirts the shores of one of the numerous bays and then strikes inland, where the road dips and undulates and winds about and about. The scenery around is wild and luxuriant. On either side lies the broad, dense jungle, a magnificent panorama of rising forest and waving woodland, stretching away for miles to where the land and sky appear to meet, and holding rich promise to the huntsman.

The springs lie embowered in a charming, secluded nook on the fringe of the forest. Overhead, the sky is completely screened from view by the profuse foliage of luxuriant trees. In stray places shafts of dazzling light stream down into the deep shadows, lighting up portions of the scene in alluring contrast, and flashing with gold the rippling tracery of tiny brooklets that rumble away over the rock-strewn ground. At the end of a narrow winding path, overhung with blossom-strewn creepers, rises the masonry of the springs, the entrance to which is marked by a porch. Each of the springs, six in all, is enclosed in a brick framework. On all sides the moss-clad masonry towers aloft, meeting above the greenness of the woods. An old man is in attendance, and invites us to test the waters. Without much ado a “chatty” is successfully lowered into each of the springs, and the water is found to vary considerably, from moderately hot to boiling-point. During our playful research into things scientific, the old

attendant unfolds an amazing account, more deeply tinged with credulous awe than actual fact, of the origin of the springs. Inwardly we chase a passing thought of things medieval.

On the return journey we are strongly allured to hie away into the neighbouring jungle with gun and rifle. Whilst bowling along the main-road, our attention is suddenly arrested by a noise in the thicket, and in a trice a beautiful spotted deer leaps through the hedge, darts across our path, and, with a wild plunge, disappears into the jungle beyond. We get a mere fugitive glimpse, but sufficient to reveal a magnificent specimen with a fine head of horns.

Towards sundown the same day the whole of our party join in a ramble to the heights of the hills that shelter the forts Ostenberg and Frederick. Leaving behind the gentle slopes that border the lower portion of the town, we emerge into an extended plain. Immediately before us lies the rampart of the densely-wooded hills, a forest of towering timber. A rough bridle-path is found, and, in single file, we commence the ascent. The ground is very steep and broken, and strewn with stones, making the climb toilsome, but happily the abundant foliage shuts out the glare of the orange ball. Here and there we come upon a grassy knoll, where a brief halt is made. As we ascend the vegetation becomes sparser, and at times we get a glimpse of the encircling grandeur that lies at our feet. On reaching the top a glorious view meets our gaze. All around lies a sylvan expanse of singular attraction; at every glance a magnificent prospect unfolds its varying beauty. As far as the eye can reach stretches an amphitheatre of unusual splendour—an enchanting vista of radiantly clad hills, sequestered valleys, picturesque bays, and flashing waters. Beyond, in the near distance, gleams the open sea. Away to the interior the land rises to higher altitudes, a wider, far-extending range of soaring grandeur, ablaze with the glare of the sun, standing out in

striking prominence, and lending alluring contrast to the shadowed depths of the gorges below.

Point Pedro is reached at daybreak the next morning, where we anchor for a few hours, and then sail for Jaffna. On passing through the channel that divides Keyts and Vilani, we enter the shallow waters that lie between the mainland and the group of adjacent islands. The approach of the steamer has been eagerly watched from the port, and as soon as the vessel is sighted, a crowd of boats and sail-rigged craft dart out from the shores. The sea around teems with movement. Slowly across the sunlit waters move the wide-scattered lines, an odd array of splashing oars and unwieldy hulks with half-filled canvas. As the slow-paced procession draws nearer, one boat is seen forging rapidly ahead, a queer but trim craft, strongly manned by a numerous crew in smart attire, and aided by a huge sail. Beneath a canopied awning, covering the stern, reposes a gorgeously apparelled official, the port doctor. In a few minutes the boat is alongside, and that important functionary steps aboard, an imposing figure, resplendent in flowing robes crowned by a magnificent turban of flaming red and shining gold.

Meanwhile, the steamer's launch has been lowered, and awaits with steam up, ready to convey us ashore. The landing-stage presents an extraordinary scene of animated bustle and confusion. Before us surges an immense throng, noisy and excited, swaying to and fro with the irregular rhythm of seething activity diversely directed. Save for a few pushing, jostling coolies, more unclad than clad, all are gaily dressed in typical garb. Veiled in the brilliant, streaming sunlight, the vividly shifting crowd is as a sea of flaming colour splashed with silver, the snowy raiment of the white-apparelled. Here and there gorgeous turbans shed added lustre, like the glistening spires of a city crowning the lowlier heights. After a brief parley with some of the turbaned gentry, we make our way through the densely packed throng into the town. The sun blazes down, all

around is bathed in white streaming radiance. The roads are filled with long lines of traffic, and streams of the bejewelled linen-gowned populace. The business quarters are a hive of industry. Intense, heightened movement pervades the whole locality, the place is alive with incessant din and commotion, everywhere are signs of pushing enterprise.

Having but a brief time at our disposal, our ramblings are perforce limited to passing glimpses of Queen's House, the ramparts, an old dismantled Dutch church, and the market. The latter, fulfilling the urgent needs of a teeming populace, occupies a spacious area in a prominent quarter of the town. Wandering through this emporium of Nature's generous gifts, we find much to interest and amuse, although 'tis but a prosy echo of similar spots away West, where, for the nonce, the country invades the town and scatters gay alluring. The hum of commerce resounds in every corner. The sight is dazzled with an endless array of eatable wares, a veritable horde of plenty overflowing the place in every direction. The glance rests on long lines of abundantly filled baskets and little hillocks of welcome vegetables and luscious fruit, stretching out in long zigzag lines—a glowing picture of daring colour and sombre brown shadows. Here we catch a gleam of oranges, there the lordly pineapple waves aloft its crown of green leaves; piles of mangoes tempt the jaded palate. Behind the baskets squat the vendors, a numerous horde, young and old, male and female, busily plying their calling. In endless streams the crowd pours in and out; above all, rises a clamorous uproar, the confused medley of a thousand wagging tongues.

At sundown we regain the launch, and are soon speeding back to the ship across the wide, shallow waters. Aslant the smooth surface floats the silvery light of the rising moon, lighting up the roadstead, crowded with long lines of laden craft, slowly journeying with their living and dead burdens. On all sides resounds the murmur of babbling



tongues and the dull, broken rhythm of splashing oars ; here and there arises the wild, barbaric chant of toiling, dusky-limbed boatmen.

On arrival aboard there are obvious signs of a large increase to the passenger list. On the bridge and main-decks swarm a dense throng, clustered together in close array, like a desert tribe bivouacked.

The next morning, the steamer is lying at anchor at the entrance to the Paumben Channel. Presently, the pilot's boat comes alongside, and two quaintly garbed individuals, wearing scarlet blouses and red jersey caps, step aboard, and anon the vessel slowly glides through the shallow, buoy-marked channel. On arrival at the other side of the pass, the steamer anchors, and we are detained for some time pending the arrival of the ship's papers from the shore. Whilst lying at anchor in these almost land-locked waters the heat is oppressive, the air hot and sultry, and one yearns for the open, breeze-swept sea. But little relieves the tedium, save the casual passing of drowsily creeping boats, and some flights of brown hawks eddying round the ship in the hope of a stray feed.

Ere long we leave behind the torrid air of the sea lagoon, and once again the steamer is trending the wide, open waters of the Indian Ocean. All around shines the smooth, sunlit sea, stretching away for miles to the distant fringe of the sky. The air is warm, yet fresh and crisp from the salt waves. Overhead floats the canopied blue, lusted and brilliant ; southward gleams the low-lying coast of the sea-girt isle, with its border of nodding green and yellow sands. The sober splendour, the radiance and spell of the chastened beauty that floats around, allure and charm. What more pleasant than to lie back and bask in the glorious sunshine ! What scene more meet for day-dreams and joyous idle moments ! The hours wing by. Occasionally a passing steamer glides slowly past in the distance, or a sail hovers over the smooth surface of the sea like a patch of blinding white.

At daybreak the next morning Colombo is in sight. Beyond the border of trees stretching along the coast rise the long, broken lines of buildings of the northern portion of the town. We are now rapidly nearing the city, and seem to catch the distant hum of its awakened movement and stir. Here and there a tall shaft belches forth a column of dense black smoke, at times the shrill whistle of an onrushing locomotive breaks upon the stillness of the air. A gleam of parting water, and then the breakwater shoots out with its glass-crowned light-tower flashing in the sunlight. The waters around swarm with fishing-boats hying back to the shore with the fruits of the night's toil. Near at hand a dredger from the harbour is crawling out to sea, an uncouth mass of ponderous iron, a blur on the vision, like a ruthless rent in some fair masterpiece.

Our little world aboard teems with bustling activity. Officers and crew are at stations, ready to drop anchor, grapple moorings, open hatches, and lower gangways. Along the crowded decks the packed horde of the linen-gowned stand in close array, impatient and excited, eager to get ashore and renew their trafficking. Below, the saloon resembles the entrance-hall of some highway caravansary. The "boys" are rushing in all directions, the inmates of the poop are toiling at trunk-packing, inevitable but unwelcome. At one end of the long, narrow table presides the steward amid a pile of bills and bullion, the mute reckoning of our merriment. Presently the pilot steps aboard, and the steamer slowly glides to her moorings in Colombo harbour. "Let go!" comes the command from the bridge, the windlass snorts, the cables rattle, and, with a deep thud, the anchor drops over the bows into the still waters below.

## KASHGAR.

BY E. H. PARKER.

ONE point after another in Central Asia becomes the centre upon which pivot the successive rivalries of Great Britain and Russia, and now that the Wakhan, Hunza, and Tibetan questions have been more or less settled, public interest inevitably turns towards Kashgar. Such foresight as British statesmen possess in High Asian affairs is generally considered to be the monopoly of our Indian administrators, and probably there is more than a grain of truth in this view. Unless China can manage to stiffen her backbone and strengthen her hold upon little Bucharia, there can be little doubt that within the next generation the question of Kashgar must become acute.

After the reconquest of Kashgaria from the son of Yakub Beg in 1877, the Chinese set about reorganizing what they call their "New Territory," and in 1884 Kashgar (still so pronounced by the Chinese) received the official designation of "Su-lêh borough": only last winter it was decided to promote the city and territory from a borough of the second order, or direct-governing *chou*, to the status of *fu*, or borough of the first order; and it may now be of interest to run rapidly through the history of the place during the past 2,000 years, so that we may understand its vicissitudes, and gain some idea of its importance as a political key at the doors of High Asia.

The first true History of China, undertaken after the discovery of Aryan civilization in the Far West, and published about 90 B.C., makes no mention of Kashgar at all. The earliest Chinese diplomatic travellers found the Indo-Scythian or Kushan Empire in process of formation at the expense of the Bactrian Greeks. It is highly probable that Kashgar was then already part of the Indo-Scythian dominions. Word was brought back of Khoten, and of

its rivers running north into the Tarim, but there was no indication of the more westerly branches of that river, draining the region of Kashgar.

The second great Chinese history, the dynastic records of the Han family (B.C. 200-B.C. 5), goes over part of the same ground as the first, but carries the subject down to the beginning of the Christian era. The Indo-Scythians, originally from the Chinese frontiers, were driven by the Hiung-nu about 200 B.C. past Ili to the Jaxartes, whence they gradually worked their way south over the Oxus. They not only displaced the remains of Greek rule, but also drove southward an ancient indigenous race of rulers called the Saka, who to this day give the name Sacasthene or Seistan to the eastern parts of Persia. The Chinese, who had captured Kashgar and Khoten from the Hiung-nu in 76 B.C., had now established their influence right up to the western frontiers of the Empire as it exists to-day, including Kugiar, Tashkurgan, Kashgar, Yarkand, Yangi-hissar, etc. They have not much to tell us about these newly discovered oases; but one remark at least is of importance, and that is all were, or had been, either populations of the Saka race, or States ruled by the Saka race—it has been suggested the “Indian nomads” of Pliny. Kashgar was then called Su-léh, and is described as being 180 (English) miles north of Yarkand, possessing a population of 18,647 souls in 1,500 houses, including 2,000 fighting troops. It had a bazaar, and the roads west led to Kokand and Samarcand. (I use the modern names of places unless there be specific reason for introducing the less-known ancient ones.)

For about a generation before and after the commencement of our era, China suffered from revolution, but the second, or “restored,” Han Dynasty (A.D. 25-220) soon recovered China’s prestige in the Far West. During the second half of the first and the first half of the second century after Christ, it was often a question whether Indo-Scythian or Chinese influence should prevail in the Tarim

Valley. But there was a third claimant for influence in the shape of the now much-weakened Hiung-nu (Early Turks), who had, as already explained, three centuries earlier driven the Indo-Scythians to the Far West. We have the names of successive Kashgarian kings; we find that Su-lêh possesses 21,000 households and 30,000 good soldiers; the Chinese pro-consul resides for long periods in the city, and makes use of the local troops wherewith to fight his enemies. In the year 120 of our era, Indo-Scythian influence was, notwithstanding, so strong in Kashgar that their King (who must have been Huvishka, A.D. 70-132) was able to set his own candidate upon the Kashgarian throne. Yarkand was, for some time, a mere shuttlecock tossed about between the two States of Khoten and Kashgar, whose power, each in turn, influenced political events, but both under the nominal suzerainty of China. After the year 170 Chinese influence fell off, and the Little Bucharía States were left to fight out their own quarrels. About the influence of the Indo-Scythians in Kashgar and Khoten there can be no manner of doubt, for our own agent in Kashgar, Mr. Macartney, has discovered both coins and antiquities with *kharoshthi* inscriptions in the Little Bucharía region; and Chinese seventh-century writers mention this Indo-Scythian script under the name *k'a-lu* or *k'a-lu-sh-ts'hi*. M. Drouin identifies the bazaar of Kashgar with the "merchants' rendezvous" or *hormeterion*, of Ptolemy, who also speaks of a place called *Casia*. According to Chinese accounts, Kucha and Kashgar between them had absorbed all the minor principalities of Little Bucharía about the middle of the second century, and from that time practically nothing was heard in China of this region for at least three centuries.

During these three centuries North China, which alone had relations with High Asia, was a helpless prey to Tartar military adventurers; and when at last the powerful Mongoloid dynasty of Wei succeeded in establishing a permanent empire in the northern half, the first few Emperors

of that house felt disinclined to involve China any more in Far Western complications. Kashgar had always been a strongly Buddhist State; and, indeed, it was through the Indo-Scythian Kings Kadphises II. and Kanishka that Buddhism had first been introduced into China (B.C. 2 to A.D. 62). Accordingly, after four tentative missions, the King of Kashgar at last, in the year 462, succeeded in interesting the fifth Emperor in a marvellous vestment stated to have been worn by Buddha himself: it seems evident that its incombustible qualities were owing to the fact of its having been woven from asbestos strips. Nothing more was heard of Kashgar for forty years, but meanwhile the whole of the High Asian States lying between the Indus, the Caspian, and the Pamirs sent innumerable trading missions in response to the overtures which North China had at last decided to make. The success of the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Fa Hien (400-430) had evidently done much to rouse curiosity and to induce the despatch of official envoys from China upon missions of inquiry. Between 502 and 518 some half-dozen envoys arrived from Kashgar, usually in company with Eptal or Persian Missions. The Indo-Scythians, Kushans, or White Huns, were now found to have practically abandoned the ancient name of "Yüeh-chi" given to them by the Chinese (who, however, had always well known that they called themselves "Kushan") in favour of the eponymous name of Eptal, and for many years a desperate struggle for supremacy took place between these Eptals and the Sassanide dynasty of Persia. But the change of name in no degree affected the subordinate position of Kashgar. It is to be noticed, however, that the latter place now begins to be called Sha-lêh, which fact, for philological reasons unnecessary to follow out here, enables us to assume that the original native sound must have been either *Solek* or *Sorak*.

A century later the Hiung-nu, who had in B.C. 200 driven the Yüeh-chi to the Jaxartes, now, under the new name

"Turk," drove the Eptals out of Transoxiana, and all the Pamir and Little Bucharía States at once paid tribute to the Western branch of the Turks, whose Khagan in 567-568 had extensive relations with both Persia and Byzantium. Regular supplies or tribute from Kashgar were forwarded annually to the Turkish headquarters in the Yulduz Valley. The city of Kashgar is described as being nearly two miles "in extent," by which "area" is probably meant, and the State of which it was the centre contained twelve other large cities, besides thrice the number of minor towns. The number of capable soldiers goes back to 2,000, from which we may assume that the suzerain Turks did not approve of large subject armies. "The territory produces much rice, millet, hemp, wheat, copper, iron, spelter, orpiment, embroidery, and floss-silk. . . . Their King wears a golden lion crown." These lion crowns, and also lion thrones, of Turkestan are frequently mentioned from this date (say A.D. 600), and for many centuries lions were sent as tribute to China from the Samarcand or Turkestan States. A curious story is told of the royal family of Kashgar possessing six fingers to the hand, and excluding from succession to the throne any members unprovided with the full complement of six. This "yarn," conceivably true of a single family, has been absurdly extended by more than one dynastic history to the whole population. The King's title was *amikö* or *amochi* (written in two ways by rival historians). The family name of the royal house was (in Chinese dress) *P'ei* or *P'ui*.

A complete change seems to come over the country now. We are told that the ancient name of Su-lêh might be used alternatively with the new one of Kasha, and that the King resided in a city called Khashi. The Persian Firdusi mentions Kashgar (by that name) having certain dealings with the Turks and China in Anushirvan's reign (531-579), and the Chinese histories mention missions from Khosrau (*i.e.*, Anushirvan). It is mentioned by the Chinese that newly-born children have their heads squeezed in order to

make them narrow. (This is rather an important statement, for in her recent work on Russian Turkestan, Annette B. Meakin mentions the existence of such a custom amongst the modern Sarts.) Stress is no longer laid upon Buddhist proclivities; on the contrary, a new religion, which might, from the vague way in which it is named, be either of Persian or Turkish origin, is stated to be in vogue, as well as a new form of writing, equally uncertain, but possibly some form of Syriac. Notwithstanding that the King's wife, or at least one of his wives, had been given to him by the Turkish Khagan, China must have maintained some slight hold upon the country, for between 635 and 650, after the power of the Northern Turks had been broken by China (who had now, consequently, no longer any political motive for conciliating the Western Turks), several missions were sent from Kashgar to China; and China, after demanding the cession from the Western Turks of Little Bucharia, even prepared to reconquer it by force. Meantime another formidable rival, the Tibetans, put in a claim for the country, and, in fact, actually held possession of it between the years 670 and 692. After that Kashgar at intervals sent friendly missions to China, and seems, for several centuries, to have enjoyed comparative independence. During the long contest which took place between the Arab invaders and the West Turks, during the eighth century, for possession of the Oxus region, there is no mention of Arab influence in Kashgar, although Kuteibë Ibn Muslim is stated by Sven Hedin to have carried his arms as far as Khoten; and, as is well known, Buddhism was largely displaced by Mohammedanism about this time in Turkestan. On the other hand, when, in 730, Turkish aid against the Arabs was sought by Samarcand and Bokhara, Kashgar, as a Turkish-ruled State, took up arms against the Arabs.

For many centuries Kashgar disappears entirely from Chinese ken, and up to the time of Kublai Khan the place is scarcely even again mentioned, except in computing the



distances in various directions from Khoten, which latter place never entirely lost touch with China. If we wish for information covering this blank interval, we must turn to the Mohammedan authors, who state (according to Deguignes) that the Bogra Khan dynasty of Ouigour Turks forced Islam upon Kashgar at the beginning of the eleventh century; that the Seljuk Turks held all the country *between* Syria and Kashgar; and that the King of Kashgar went to Uzgend to do homage to the Seljuk Malek Shah (1072-1092). As the Chinese histories mention Malek Shah's empire several times, we may say therefore that we have indirect confirmation of the Mohammedan authors from Chinese sources. Other Mohammedan authors cited by Bretschneider say that the Kara-Khitai, who fled from China early in the twelfth century, conquered both Kashgar and Khoten.

When Genghis Khan swept over Asia, he took the northern roads, leaving Kashgaria quite unnoticed. But in 1218 a general of his named Djebé drove away the Naiman power from Kashgar and Khoten; the Naiman Tartars had only a few years before defeated the Kara-Khitans. Both Mohammedan and Chinese authors are at one here, but nothing more tangible is said of Kashgar or *K'osh-har*. Its first serious mention is in 1263, during Kublai's war with Aric-buca, his brother. In Chinese character the word appears as *K'osh-hal* (or *Kash-khar*). In 1274 thirteen stages were established between Khoten and Yarkand; conciliatory measures were taken with the population of Yarkand and *Hosh-har*, and in 1288 an officer was appointed to superintend the artisan colonists of Khoten and *K'osh-har*. Of course, there can be no doubt what place is meant, even if we had not Marco Polo's contemporary "Yarcán" and "Cascar" to assist us. However, during Mongol times Kashgar made no Chinese history worth recording.

In 1408 and 1410 the native Chinese dynasty of Ming, which had in 1398 ejected the Mongols from China,

despatched several missions to Shah Rukh and other Turkestan rulers, including the King of *Hash-har*, who sent return missions in 1413. (Shah Rukh's grandfather, Tamerlane, had extensive relations with China, and is supposed to have conquered Kashgar in 1390.) In 1463 a Chinese envoy was sent, but it is recorded that Kashgar was too distant to send in return frequent tribute envoys all the way to Peking. It is described as being a small State, and no other details are given. In or about 1603 Bernard Goes visited a place "belonging to Cascar" called Tanghetar, but of course Chinese history says nothing of this, and I do not know how far Goes' statement has been corroborated.

The ruling Manchu dynasty seems to have first heard of Kashgar in 1696, when, along with Yarkand, Samarcand, and Bokhara, it is mentioned under the name of *Has-har* amongst the conquests of Galdan the Eleuth, of whose empire we have been well informed by Bell of Antermomy.\* The Chinese lost no time in ascertaining the history of Kashgar; they say: "Arabia is the home of Islam, and Mohammed subjected all the States of Turkestan to Islam, completely sweeping Buddhism away. West of the Pamirs he is revered as a prophet, or as they say in Islam, *beighember*. Twenty-sixth in descent from him was one Mahmoud, who, towards the close of the late Ming dynasty (1644), crossed the Ts'ung-ling mountains with his brothers and removed to Kashgar. He was the first Mussulman chief in Kashgaria, and was progenitor of Borhan Eddin and his brother. The old rulers of Kashgar were descendants of Genghis Khan's younger brother. When Mahmoud appeared from the West, the local populations forsook the old rulers, and the rising Eleuth power removed them to the Kuldja region, where the Kirghiz and the other Mussulmans were placed under their rule. In 1696 one Abdul Seyid took refuge in China, after China had defeated Galdan, and the Emperor sent him back to rule over Yarkand. He was the grandfather of Borhan Eddin, whose father was named

\* Who knows where Antermomy is or was?

Mahomet." The allusions to Borhan Eddin prove that the above sketch was not published before 1757, when the Emperor K'ien-lung, after annihilating the Eleuth empire, decided to conquer Kashgaria. This was because the Mussulman prince Borhan Eddin had objected to transfer to China the slavish services upon which the suzerain Eleuths had always insisted. After an obstinate and bloody war, the Chinese at last succeeded in obtaining the assistance of Badakshan, whose ruler, Sultan Shah, treacherously betrayed his fellow Mussulmans into Chinese hands. From this date Kashgaria and all its cities have formed part of the Chinese Empire, under the supervision of Manchu Residents. But Borhan Eddin's son Samsak for many years after these events eluded Chinese vigilance in Badakshan and Kokand. In 1820 he even made an unsuccessful attempt to reconquer Kashgar. In 1826 Samsak's son, Jehangir, really did, aided by the Andijans and the Taran or Taranchi Mussulmans, capture both Yarkand and Kashgar. The Kanjut rulers of Hunza lent valuable assistance to China in this affair, and have ever since paid tribute of gold-dust as vassals of China—they did so even during this year (1904). Jehangir had to escape to Darwaz; but, foolishly exposing himself near Artush, he was captured in the Kara-Tekké Hills, north-west of Kashgar, where the commemorative Chinese stone still stands. The wretched man was carried in triumph to Peking, where he was cruelly hacked to pieces.

The Andijan traders who had equipped a force for Jehangir never forgot their resulting claims upon Kashgar. Kokand even pretended to a right as suzerain to levy a tax upon all foreign trade with the Chinese cities. In 1847 Jehangir's nephew had Kashgar and Yarkand in his power for a short period. The same thing happened in 1857. Meanwhile Russia took advantage of the Kokand troubles then prevailing to claim from China commercial rights in Kashgar, and in 1862 Jehangir's heir, Buzurg Khan, backed up by the Kirghiz, was invited by the inhabitants

of Kashgar to become their ruler. The Chinese were expelled. Buzurg Khan's General, Yakub Beg (1864), was himself an Andijani, and was, of course, patronized by the Andijan trading element. How he founded a powerful State in Kashgar is a matter of contemporary history. To protect themselves from the rising Mussulman power, the Russians in 1871 occupied Kuldja, and endeavoured to induce their protected Khan Khudayar of Kokand to assert suzerain rights over the Atalik Ghazi as a "subject" Andijan of Kokand extraction. But Yakub's diplomacy was too subtle even for the wily Russians; he forced them to take the first step in negotiations which culminated in the Kaulbars Treaty of 1872, and in the mission of 1873 to St. Petersburg. Meanwhile Great Britain despatched the Forsyth Mission to Yakub in order to secure also a modest place in the sun of his favour; but the Atalik Ghazi, basking in the smiles of "my brother the Emperor of Russia," was rather disposed to stiffen his back; he had now, moreover, assumed the high-sounding title of Amir, so as to be in our eyes at least the equal of the ruler of Afghanistan. All these fine day-dreams of a Mussulman Empire, however, were summarily knocked on the head by the sudden death of the Amir, the incompetent rule of his feeble son, and the unexpected reconquest of Kashgar by Tso Tsung-t'ang in 1877. Russia was, in 1880, even forced to surrender the greater part of Ili and Kuldja. For some years past we have had a resident officer at Kashgar, but his influence does not seem to go beyond the observation stage. The Orenburg-Tashkend Railway, just completed by Russia, is evidently pointed towards Kashgar as an ultimate objective, and it therefore behoves Lord Curzon, whose clear insight and foresight allows little to escape him, to take time by the forelock with a view to forestalling any Russian aggression in this quarter.

## “INDIA IN THE VICTORIAN AGE.”\*

BY J. B. PENNINGTON.

THIS last<sup>1</sup> book of Mr. Dutt's is a perfect mine of information; and, even though one may not agree with all his deductions, no one who cares to write or talk reasonably about India can afford to neglect it. It is of course on the same pessimistic lines as the late Mr. Digby's compilation; but with what a difference in treatment! Thoroughly well put together, it is a book that almost anyone, with even an elementary knowledge of India, could read with interest from beginning to end, because the author has a complete first-hand knowledge of his subject.

It would be impossible within the limits of a short article to give anything like a complete account of the book. I can only call attention to a few of the more striking passages in it, and to a *very* few points on which I still venture to differ.

One general remark I will make to begin with, and that is, that one cannot read such an indictment of England by one of her own most capable Indian officials without a feeling of humiliation. All that is wanted in the government of India by England (as the author says) is a generous and sympathetic justice. When will the enterprising gentlemen who so lightly assume the duty of legislating for, and of actually governing, this very complex and heterogeneous Empire, realize that it is their duty to endeavour to understand Indian problems, however repulsive they may appear; and, having understood them, to see that the grievances of India are carefully considered and treated with justice? How can the members for Lancashire especially bear to be denounced as wanting in common honesty when dealing with a dependent nation which lies bleeding at their mercy?

\* “India in the Victorian Age,” by Romesh Dutt. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1904.

Even if they cannot realize the fact that the more prosperous India is the better customer she would be, surely their instincts of fair play, not to say chivalry, should prevent them from robbing her. The quite recent story of the imposition of an excise duty on a class of Indian cotton goods which did not compete at all with any Lancashire goods and yet affected seriously the rival mills of India, is a disgrace to Lancashire as well as to the English Government. It is quite certain that if India had as many votes as even the single county of Lancashire, that scandalous duty would never have been imposed. When shall we get to govern us "men of truth, *hating unjust gain*"?

It is impossible in reviewing a book like this to avoid "the perennial land question,"\* and I am bound to say that, though I agree with Mr. Dutt in the main, and am entirely with him as to the absolute necessity for something like fixity of tenure and protection against enhancement, I do *not* see entirely eye to eye with him on this much discussed question. In comparing what is paid by the "actual cultivator" in Bengal and the ryot of Madras, he is not sufficiently careful to point out to an ill-informed English audience that in Madras the assessment *includes the rental*, the Government being the actual landlord. Whether he is right in saying that the *average* rental in Bengal amounts to no more than 11 per cent. of the gross produce, whereas in *some* parts of Bombay and Madras it amounts to 20 per cent. or more, I don't know, and I doubt if anyone knows for certain; but I have heard of fifty acres of land under tobacco in Behar which pay Rs. 100 *an acre as rent*, and certainly since the abolition of "garden"† rates there has been no assessment in Madras approaching to such a rate. Averages, as I have frequently had to point out, are very misleading, and if one man has to pay 50 per cent. of his gross produce as rent, it is no consolation to him to know that *on the*

\* Considering its supreme importance, I do not see why it need be avoided.

† Dhágayat.

average only 11 per cent. is paid. Moreover, if the average rental of *all* Bengal is taken, it should be compared with the average proportion of the produce exacted by the Madras Government over the whole Presidency, and not in selected areas. One hundred rupees an acre is evidently much more than even 20 per cent. of the gross produce of any land.

Mr. Dutt says that the best Administrators, such as Lord Canning and Lord Lawrence, "knew that land in India belongs to the nation and not to a landed class." I also believe that it belongs *to the nation* to a certain extent, and *not to the agriculturists only*, because it is the acknowledged common law of India that the "nation" (by whatever Government represented) is entitled to *a share of the gross produce of all land*, which Sir Henry Cotton says was originally about 10 per cent., though Manu himself fixes it at one-sixth, or even "one-fourth in case of need." On the other hand, the ryot has always been entitled to perpetual occupancy, with power to alienate, *provided* that he pays "the nation" its share of the produce, commuted or otherwise as the case may be. Sir Henry Cotton says the State is not the (exclusive ?) owner of the soil, and of course he is right; but at any rate the State has a certain definite property in the soil which may amount to one-fourth of the gross produce, according to Manu, and has often amounted to three-fourths; and the ryot also has an absolute property in the soil, but only in what is left him by the State.\* No one has succeeded in making the Indian land question more intelligible than Sir Thomas Munro when he said "the ryot" (*not the zemindár*) "is the true proprietor; for whatever the State does not take belongs to him"; and it depends entirely on the moderation of the State whether he is a well-to-do proprietor or a pauper-peasant, as so many are. Hence the necessity for extreme moderation in assessment so persistently insisted on by Mr. Dutt, and the

\* Moreover, the State has, at any rate, a reversionary property in *all* land in case of non-payment of revenue.

suppression of extra cesses. The English Government has always strongly objected to the levy by zemindars, etc., of all sorts of miscellaneous extra charges commonly known as "abwabs," but has itself been guilty of the same offence in imposing extra cesses to the extent of 10 per cent. (or more) of the assessment. As Mr. Dutt says, there ought to be some limit to these vexatious extra charges on agriculture.

Since writing the above, my attention has been directed to a very full and interesting discussion in the early days of the East India Association, when a paper by Miss Florence Nightingale was read (on June 1, 1883, and published in vol. xv. of their Proceedings), and it is curious to see how the then champions of the Zemindars of Bengal contrived to ignore the real points at issue in the debate over the "charter of the Bengal cultivators," and how unwilling they were to allow that the "actual cultivator" had any rights at all except to the mercy of his landlord. They were keen enough in insisting on the *rights* of the Zemindar: they said little about his duties and obligations as clearly laid down in the Regulations of 1793, or about the almost innumerable illegal cesses levied on the ryots by nearly every Zemindar in the country. Mr. (now Sir Roper) Lethbridge actually contended (see p. 216 of the vol. cited) that the Zemindars who were transformed into landlords of the English type by Lord Cornwallis were only "farmers of the Revenue" before that time, *because* they were "the men in possession"; and goes on to say that they were "undoubtedly, and *in the fullest sense*, the *proprietors of the land*." Now, if we look to the contemporary records most conveniently quoted by Miss Nightingale, what do we find? We find Lord Cornwallis himself saying that "the property in the soil was *never before* formally declared to be vested in the landowners" (properly speaking, *landholders*, for "Zemindar" does not necessarily mean *landowner*), "nor were they allowed to transfer such rights as they did possess or raise money on the credit of their



tenures without the previous sanction of Government." What sort of proprietary right was this, when ten-elevenths of the produce was considered to be the share of the State and one-eleventh the share of the so-called landlord? As Sir George Campbell pointed out, such landlords were nothing more than mere "managers" on behalf of Government.

But even Mr. Lethbridge was good enough to admit that "however honestly or properly the Zemindars came by their rights under the Permanent Settlement, those rights ought to be curtailed or even confiscated if it can be shown that they have been abused." This is a very ingenious way of putting the question by ignoring all the basic facts of the case. It was not a question of curtailing the Zemindars' rights, but of asserting those of the ryots, which Mr. Lethbridge entirely ignored. As Miss Nightingale very pertinently asked, "Can the *restoration* of the rights of the ryots, whether original or acquired under the Permanent Settlement, be deemed confiscation, as it is often called," by the advocates of the Zemindars, like Messrs. Lethbridge, Da Costa, and Arathoon? There is no answer forthcoming to this question. Mr. Lethbridge speaks of the proprietary rights of the ryots as if they were a modern invention, and compares them with "the three F's and all the rest of it." But the ryots were known to have extensive rights even in those early days, and power was "carefully reserved in the regulations by which the Permanent Settlement was carried out for the Government to interfere for the preservation of the ancient rights of the cultivators." As so often observed, "the ryot is the true proprietor, for whatever does not belong to the Government belongs to him." The real truth is that Lord Cornwallis exceeded his powers in creating landlords of the English type: all he had power to do was to make over to private individuals (whether real "landlords" or not) the revenue due to Government. If there had been any properly qualified Courts in those days, and if the ryots so arbitrarily made tenants-at-will had been as sturdy in defence of their

rights as they are now, the result would have been the same as it was in the case of a faithful Subadar in the Madras Army, who, for his services in the Vellore Mutiny, was rewarded by a grant of land *in fee simple* (Inám), and whose descendant was ruined in my time by vainly attempting to assert his right to the absolute ownership of land which really belonged to sturdy Mirasidars, who (like those in Eastern Bengal) knew how to assert their rights. The Government, in its ignorance, had granted to his grandfather what it had no right to give, just as Lord Cornwallis did in Bengal; but the Courts in these days are better acquainted with the respective rights of Government and the ryot, and so the unfortunate beneficiary of the Government was ruined by litigation.

To read the speeches of Mr. Lethbridge and Mr. Arathoon, one would suppose that the original cultivator in India, or "ryot," as he is called, had not only *no* property in the soil at all, but that it would be positively dangerous for him to have any such property. No doubt many of the great Zemindars at the time of the Permanent Settlement were really *landholders*; but even so, they accepted their zemindaries thenceforth on the terms of their Sanad, the first provision of which was that they were to treat their ryots with good faith and moderation and *impose no fresh burdens upon them*. The Code of 1793 "recognised in the fullest manner the right of the ryots to hold at the established rates." Unfortunately it was not till more than sixty years after the Permanent Settlement that the Government found time to inquire into the ryots' property in the soil, and by that time those rights had been so seriously invaded that they were difficult to ascertain, and the remedy provided was most imperfect and inadequate.

Nobody doubts that Lord Cornwallis (most unfortunately) "made the Zemindars actual proprietors of the soil," as Mr. Arathoon says (p. 22); what the advocates of the helpless ryot say is that Government had *no power* to cancel the rights of the ryots in that wholesale and arbitrary fashion.

There is absolutely nothing in the speeches of either Mr. Lethbridge or Mr. Arathoon which touches the real point at issue, as clearly indicated by Sir George Campbell in his very temperate observations; and the fact is that the ryot (the producer) is the first person to be considered: the Zemindar's rights come second. Neither of these advocates refers to the case mentioned in a note on p. 189 of the same volume, where a Zemindar proposed to raise the rents 5 per cent. "in consequence of the recent providential fall of rain!"

In concluding this part of my remarks, I should like to make my acknowledgments to General Fischer for the very admirable paper which appears in the July number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* on "The Benefits of Inland Navigation."\* However I may question his knowledge of the Madras Revenue system, there is scarcely a word in this paper with which I do not cordially agree; and in corroboration of what I have said above, I should like to quote what he says about the impossibility of utilizing the water of the Godavery for irrigation in the Central Provinces on account of the vicious "Zemindari system of land tenure" which prevails there: a system, I may add, which was actually introduced in my time, in spite of all experience, by a Commissioner who ought to have known better.

Mr. Dutt's chapter on "Land Settlements in Madras" (p. 308) is misleading, and its arguments are entirely invalidated owing to his strange omission to refer to the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue embodied in the Blue Book, dated January 16, 1902, and the Order of the Madras Government thereon in which they say, I think most justly, that Mr. Nicholson's elaborate and most valuable report is "a full and complete answer to his criticisms."

How he could bring himself to repeat those criticisms in this volume without first demolishing Mr. Nicholson's case is more than I can understand, and the omission seriously

\* See pp. 19-38.

detracts from the value of his book as far as Madras is concerned. If Sir Louis Mallet, whose minute (written so far back as 1875) Mr. Dutt quotes as conclusive, had had the advantage of reading Mr. Nicholson's report, he would have found a clue to the apparent "chaos" he laments. Mr. Dutt seems inexcusable for ignoring the real history of Madras Land Revenue Administration as given in this monumental paper.

Another subject on which Mr. Dutt and, I think, Sir Henry Cotton are scarcely fair to the Ryotwari system of land tenure is, in ascribing *entirely* to the Zemindari system the undoubted prosperity of Bengal, and its almost complete immunity from anything like real famine.

Judging from the results of Mr. Digby's no doubt painstaking inquiries as to the gross produce of Bengal, it is surely not unfair to say that we have no trustworthy information on the subject,\* and, as far as I can see, not much as to the condition of the "actual cultivator." It will be remembered that Mr. Digby estimated the value of the gross produce on 55,000,000 acres in Bengal at the ridiculous total of £54,000,000, or, say, an average of less than Rs. 15 an acre for the most fertile province in India, whilst the "downtrodden" ryots of many villages in Tinnevely have been paying Rs. 20 *an acre* (or more), by way of revenue to Government for generations, and have also been fairly prosperous, because the produce is seldom, if ever, worth less than Rs. 80.

Now in giving an account of the land reforms inaugurated by Lord Canning, Mr. Dutt very properly gives the first place to Act X. of 1859, "The Charter of the Bengal Cultivators," which, he says (p. 263), "created a revolution in Bengal," and goes on to say, that "the population of Bengal are at the present time more resourceful and

\* I notice that in the Final General Memorandum on the Sugar-cane Crop of 1904-1905 (Government of India Statistical Department, February 23, 1905), it is expressly pointed out that "the estimates for that Province are based on *very uncertain information*."

prosperous than elsewhere in India—*firstly*, owing to the limitation of the State demand from landlords in 1793; and *secondly*" (it should be "chiefly") "owing to the limitation placed on the landlord's demand from his tenants" (p. 264).

It is of course obvious that the gigantic sacrifice of revenue involved in the Permanent Settlement has created an immense number of enormously wealthy landlords, who are, I hope, fairly liberal nowadays, and, at any rate, generally spend their wealth in the country; but the history of Act X. of 1859 and the further Act of 1885 is sufficient to show that for sixty years at least the "tenants of those Zemindars" in Bengal were in a worse plight than even the Madras ryot; and even now the writer of the paper on "Indian Affairs" in the *Times* (May 9, 1905) informs us that "in Bengal we have a state of affairs which leaves the 'actual cultivator' in a worse position than those of any other province." As I said before, it seems more difficult to get accurate information as to the condition of the people in Bengal than elsewhere, and this is what might have been expected.

I am not going to say much about the vexed question of tariffs and protective duties, partly because I am not at all sure that I quite understand it in all its bearings, and partly because we shall know more about it, when the promised Conference is held; but, as I have said already, there can be no doubt that, as Mr. Montgomery Martin said in 1840, the destruction of Indian manufactures was "not in the fair course of trade," but rather "by the power of the stronger exercised over the weaker" (*"India in the Victorian Age,"* p. 112). At the same time I cannot help thinking that the ruin of the hand-loom weaver (as in England) was chiefly due to the introduction of machinery. This is proved, I think, by the history of the sugar trade in India, because, as Mr. Dutt says, "sugar not being produced in England, some healthy changes in the tariffs with regard to this article had been permitted," and in consequence there was an extraordinary development of trade in this com-

modity ; so much so that Mr. Bagshaw (an M.P. and one of the witnesses before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1848) quite expected that India in course of time would supply the whole of the English demand. Mr. Dutt points out that "this hope was never realized," and says that "sugar manufacture declined during the last half of the nineteenth century with almost every other manufacture;" but he does not explain *why* it fell off. "It was not till 1830 that beet-sugar gained a firm footing, but from 1840 onwards it advanced with giant strides" ("Encyclopædia Britannica"). That chiefly, combined with antiquated and inefficient methods of treating the cane, and also, no doubt, the enormously increased demand for sugar in India itself, were the causes of the decline of the export to England which Mr. Dutt laments. No doubt by a clerical error he speaks of this decline as referring to the *manufacture* of sugar in India, which does not appear to have fallen off at all seriously,\* notwithstanding the competition of bounty-fed beet. It even appears from the "Encyclopædia Britannica," vol. xxxiii., p. 52, that the average production of cane-sugar in India and our Eastern Dependencies, during the last seven years of the century, was almost one-half of the production of the whole world; and it seems that even yet there is some export of sugar from India, though a much more considerable import, the 3,500,000 tons produced in India and our Asiatic Dependencies being apparently insufficient for the increased needs of a largely increased population. Calculated on a population of 300,000,000, the average production of recent years would amount to the very respectable figure of 26 pounds a head—a very good average even for Europe, and more than four times the consumption in Italy, where, however, sugar costs over 6d. a pound.†

\* The latest account I have seen for the season 1904-1905 gives an estimated out-turn of 2,166,000 tons in British India alone, showing an increase of 16 per cent. as compared with the previous year.

† The above article was in type previous to the writer having seen the discussion on the "Madras Estates Land Bill."

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

HELD at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Thursday, July 6, 1905, at 4 p.m. H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, G.C.S.I., in the chair. There were present among others: The Right Honourable Leonard Courtney, M.P., Sir Roland Wilson, Bart., Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Edward L. O'Malley, Sir Cowasjee and Lady Jehangir, Mr. Lesley Probyn, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Archdeacon Colley, Shaikh Abdul Qādir, B.A., Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Major J. R. Dunlop Smith, Captain L. Barnes, Colonel Lock, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Rev. Dr. Bhabba, Mrs. Glass, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. and Mrs. Durant Beighton, Raizada Hans Raj, Mr. and Mrs. Corbet, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. Coldstream, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. J. W. Fox, Sirdar Arjan Singh, Mr. Donald Reid, Mr. Victor Corbet, Mr. M. B. Kolasker, Mir Ayub Khan, Mirza Agha Zahir Ali, Mr. Ishwar Das Varshnu, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. Lutfi Ali, Mr. H. F. Eaton, Mrs. Beddoes, Mr. B. A. Cooper, Mr. P. Cavaé, Miss A. Smith, Miss Young, Mr. Dubé, Mr. Davé, Mr. Dhooma Mall, Mr. Bashir Ahmad, Mr. W. Martin Wood, Mr. A. N. Dutt, Mr. H. A. Krohn, Miss Field, Mr. Abdul Hamid, Mr. Parmeshwar Lall, Mr. Dhir, Miss Brooks, Mr. H. Mussenden, Mr. A. F. Firose, Mr. Haq Nawaz, Miss Jameson, Mr. F. B. Mehwalā, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN, who was received with loud applause, said: I have been asked to take this chair to-day, which I do with great diffidence. My task as chairman is to introduce to you Lieutenant-Colonel Sir David Barr, whose name is probably so well known to all of you that it requires no words on my part to introduce him to you. I know you are all anxiously waiting with avidity and interest to hear the paper he is going to read before you, and therefore I will not detain you, but will only ask Sir David Barr to read his paper.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR DAVID BARR, K.C.S.I., then proceeded to read the following paper, entitled "Hyderabad: Past and Present."\*

The CHAIRMAN having invited discussion upon the paper,

MR. MARTIN WOOD said that he thought the reading of the paper marked a very auspicious occasion. It had been well said that the Princes and Chiefs of India were the living title-deeds to our Empire in the Orient. On this occasion those Princes were represented by His Highness in the chair, and also by Sir David Barr representing the Nizam of Hyderabad. The present was also an auspicious period because he trusted that it might be taken that it marked the conclusion of an era very unsettled and very disturbed, during which there had been spoliations of the resources of the State of Hyderabad intermittently during the greater part of the last century. These spoliations had been both from within and without, but

\* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

those inroads on the State's revenues could scarcely have taken place without neglect or lack of oversight by the higher authorities failing to keep in hand various Residents, most of them Bengal civilians who had no previous knowledge of Political Service. That period had now passed, and they had received an assurance as to the future prospects of the State of Hyderabad. As to the paper itself, he thought that Sir David Barr was to be congratulated on having succeeded in dealing with such a large subject in such a small compass of time, also in such a picturesque manner, not the least in restoring to public notice that remarkable man, Major Kirkpatrick. Though Colonel Barr had quoted from *Blackwood*, yet he spoke with full knowledge of the history of the turbulent time, and it was very striking that the whole of our relations to the Hyderabad State and the Nizam hung upon the amicable arrangements which Kirkpatrick had set up with skill and foresight at the beginning of the last century. The description of the present city of Hyderabad was very striking, indeed charming, and it would be of great practical service that this paper had been read, and he trusted it would have its effect in the directions which Sir David Barr anticipated, more especially with reference to His Highness the Nizam carrying forward his own share in the Government and administration of his own country and State. (Applause.)

MR. PETRE asked to be allowed to pay a tribute, in which he was sure everybody who had served with Sir David Barr would concur, to the admirable selection which was made when Sir David Barr was appointed Resident. Everybody knowing him and his work felt that the best possible man had been selected to fill that very difficult post in Hyderabad. (Hear, hear.) Hyderabad had always been looked upon as the blue ribbon of the Political Service; it had also been the grave of a great many reputations—the making of some and the loss of many. His (the speaker's) knowledge of that State went back to the bad old days which had been touched upon slightly by Sir David Barr. In those days the position was that the whole management of the State was in the hands of men who were really secretaries, but who posed as Ministers. There was intrigue everywhere. It was not confined to any one class; everybody had a finger in the pie in those days, and it used to be one of the amusements of the first assistant when he had been to an interview with the Nizam, or the Minister had to run the gauntlet of cross-examination at the club, especially when he was quite sure he had nothing to tell. One point that always struck him as particularly remarkable in Hyderabad was the great religious toleration that was shown. He remembered instances where there was very good ground for complaint on the part of the State, but they were always treated with the utmost moderation. There was no outcry, whether the offender were a Hindu or a Christian. Nowadays, from Sir David Barr's description, Hyderabad seemed to be an ideal place of rest compared with what it was twenty years ago, and he hoped that it would continue to go on as it had done recently. (Applause.)

MR. J. D. REES, C.I.E., said that it was his good fortune to have been in Hyderabad when the present Nizam was installed upon the throne, or royal cushion, and he remembered a paper being published at that time by



Sir John Gorst in the *Nineteenth Century*, and the account there given of Hyderabad began by representing a farmer of that State standing in the road in the hot sun with a heavy stone on his head, and that there he had to stand till he had paid up the amount of assessment he owed, and that was represented as being the way of collecting arrears in Hyderabad. He had spent a good many years of his life in the neighbourhood of the State of Hyderabad, and he knew the ceded districts to which Sir David Barr had referred, and he suspected at the time that there was a little exaggeration, and that Sir John Gorst "had been fed," like other questioners, "with lies." But to-day they had it on the very high authority of Sir David Barr that not only was this method of collecting rents not usual in Hyderabad, but that the condition of affairs therein was not inferior to that of other States in India, as to which nobody could be a more competent authority than Sir David Barr, who had himself served with success in so many of them. It was therefore very gratifying to hear that the state of things in Hyderabad was so satisfactory.

Then when Sir David Barr gave them that very interesting account of the love-affairs of Major Achilles Kirkpatrick, he (Mr. Rees) could not help thinking, as there were brave men before Agamemnon, so there had been good Residents since Achilles; and as he had been a Resident in a Native State himself, it was exceedingly interesting to him to learn that at some period of the history of the British rule in India it was not altogether an unprecedented thing for a royal Princess to come and offer to marry the Resident. (Laughter.) He would explain [that his own experiences as a Resident had been in Travancore and Cochin, where the ladies had the privilege of choosing their husbands, but he could positively assert that they had entirely overlooked him in that respect, and he believed Residents and others were not in future likely to receive royal or other proposals. (Laughter.) It was extremely interesting on the occasion of their hearing a lecture from an ex-Resident of one of the largest Native States to have in the chair one of the only two other Princes who were of equal rank with the Nizam himself (applause), there being in all India but three Princes who were entitled to an hereditary salute of twenty-one guns, namely, His Highness the Nizam, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, and His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda. It was particularly gratifying to him, holding the views he did, to hear what Sir David Barr said regarding the individuality of a Native State, and his statement that the independence of Hyderabad within treaty limits had been carefully preserved, and in no way impaired. It was particularly gratifying to have this from a Resident of such distinction and eminence as Sir David Barr, and it was evident from the statements in the paper that had been read that he was not one of those Residents who wished to impose on a Native State the exact pattern of the surrounding British districts. It gave him peculiar gratification to hear that from Sir David Barr, and when it was said that they had discovered in His Highness the Nizam the ablest administrator in his own dominions, he believed that to be by no means an uncommon occurrence. Certainly, in the Native States, in which he had resided, it was the case that the Prince in each case was

the ablest man in his State, and he believed that if they were to look to Baroda they would find another illustration of that position. (Applause.) In connection with Hyderabad, he wished to mention the extraordinary hospitality which so many Englishmen had enjoyed there, himself among the number, and what grateful recollections the Englishmen who had enjoyed the hospitality of Hyderabad would retain of the magnificent receptions they had received. Sir David Barr said at one point that no State in India was more "dependent upon the advice of the Resident," but he believed that Sir David meant that no State was more ready to accept such advice; because from the other statements made in the paper he should imagine that the State of Hyderabad was not more dependent upon the advice of the Resident, but as ready as any other to take it when proffered. Sir David had referred to the prospects of the Hyderabad minerals and the development of the State in that direction, and he did sincerely hope that the State would give free and unrestricted concessions and terms to those who sought to develop it, and he thought experience had proved that even the operations undertaken in these States, which had been severely criticised in respect of the promotion money taken, had borne good fruit. Even in such cases it was better for Native States than if their mineral wealth had remained buried in the ground, and no efforts made to bring it into the light of day. (Applause.) At present commercial propositions in Hyderabad were favourably regarded in the city of London, and capital had, to the great benefit of the State, been provided in this country for its development.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, you have already heard a discussion of the paper carried on by three eminent gentlemen, and very little remains for me to say on the question. However, I will make only a few remarks on the subject of the paper which has just been read. It is a matter which must be delicately dealt with; it is a matter on which the least mistake is likely to be misunderstood; it is a matter with which a man must deal with great care and caution, because the subject-matter of Native States is understood by very few people, except those who have had to deal with them as officers in India. I believe people in England take an interest in Indian questions, but I am not prepared to say that many of them have that intimate or that consummate knowledge which will entitle them to pass a judgment which will not be objected to by those who know better. (Hear, hear.) The Indian States, taken as a whole, represent a very large proportion of India in its area as well as in its population, and therefore the importance of the whole question is obvious. In order to decide how far the States fulfil our expectations, it is most important for us to bear in mind what we expect from them. Having decided that question in our minds, we have to see how far they come up to that standard; if they fail, whether they fail from their own shortcomings (mental or moral), or from defective education or political restrictions. To discuss each of these points in detail would take much time and perhaps weary the audience.

Indian States, as our friend has said in his paper, in the time of Major Kirkpatrick in Hyderabad, and generally it may be said of many other

States at the same period, were then going through a very critical period. The predominant power in India was breaking up just as the Roman Empire in Europe collapsed, and the disturbed conditions of those times were due to the collapse of this predominant power, and do not prove that the Indian people or the Indian States were not capable of managing their own States or their own affairs. (Hear, hear.) I think if the British Government, or perhaps the French, had not come on the scene, it would have been an interesting problem, which fortunately it is now useless to discuss, what would have become of these different States—whether many of them would have vanished, or whether some of them would have established a supremacy over others, or whether they would have formed a union of confederated States, something like the United States of America. Had the Indian people had the communication with the rest of the world, had they had the education and scientific training which modern science gives to soldiers and statesmen, I have no doubt that the natural capacity and ability of the people would have asserted themselves, and they would have been in no way less capable and fitted to manage their affairs than other parts of the world. (Applause.) But this hypothesis is not sufficient for Indians to pride themselves upon. It was through their own folly and their own mistakes that they lost the opportunity, and they are now placed in a condition in which they cannot take the benefit of it. Fortunately we are under a Government which gives them, though to a limited extent, some scope to show their qualities. We hope that, with improvement in training and education, that scope will be widened to enable them to occupy higher positions and higher stations than they at present do. What applies to Indians in general may apply with some qualifications to the Native States, and I hope the time will come when the Native States will show themselves more capable, and more appreciative of their duties, and more concerned with the interests and happiness of their people, than perhaps has been the case up till now. (Applause.) I believe there is no surer way of getting at and achieving that object than by educating the Princes thoroughly. (Hear, hear.) To make any reform or any progress permanent or beneficial to the people, it is not only a few of the Princes who must be educated, but education and a higher moral code must go to the lowest levels of the population, and so raise the average level of intelligence. If the Princes are to show themselves mindful of their duties and their sense of honour and dignity in their care of the States, there must be people who can and will come forward and persuade them to perform those duties and act up to a higher standard. I see here many of my Indian friends, who, I hope, with judgment, caution, and wisdom, will make the Princes feel that there is a body of public opinion in India which expects a high standard of duty from them, and that there are men who will sacrifice themselves, if necessary, in striving to make this public opinion effective. (Hear, hear.) I have no doubt that when the Princes are more educated it will be to them a source of great gratification, as well as a source of pride and pleasure, to advance the interests of their people as much as possible.

Our friend Sir David Barr has referred to the Nizam asserting himself.

I will not go into the details of the work of an Indian Prince; but I may tell you that there are occasions when even the best-intentioned ruler will find that his best labours bear but very little fruit, that his best reforms are not of a lasting nature, and therefore under those circumstances what do you expect? You do not expect any sensible man to carry on the labours of Sisyphus! Personally, I think it is a great pity that these Princes should fail you. It is sometimes put down to cowardice, but before we condemn the class we must consider and balance the circumstances under which they are to live; and I myself personally feel, though I have tried my best and even to a certain extent sacrificed myself in doing my work, that there have been occasions and there are circumstances in which I should be inclined to sympathize with this class, which is not well educated, and which is not able to appreciate the circumstances and the position that it ought to occupy with regard to them. I am sure the Nizam, from his sense of duty, and for the welfare of the people that are under him, will sacrifice his own individual comfort and live up to the standard of duty, and try to promote the happiness of his people as well as he can, though we must remember under what adverse circumstances he has to work. (Applause.) Hyderabad, as Sir David Barr has said, is one of the most important States—in fact, the premier State. From the Nizam, as ruler of the premier State, we expect a high standard as an example to the other Native States, so that they may follow in his footsteps in making progress and in carrying on administration. We wish that example to be an administration to the best advantage of the people; the control of revenue, so as to increase the resources of the State, and to encourage profitable investments on the part of the people; the increase of railways and other means of communication.

Well, gentlemen, I know, as our friend has said, that His Highness has done this to a great extent, but we have to consider what these measures which I have just mentioned mean. Are these Princes or is His Highness allowed to receive the full benefit of such progressive measures, or is he to achieve them at a great sacrifice of administration, a sacrifice of jurisdiction, and a sacrifice of management? To carry out these measures, I think you will see that we sometimes have to make serious sacrifices, and that we do it from a keen sense of duty and a keen sense of love and pleasure which we have in promoting the happiness of our people, and I will ask you whether under the circumstances other Princes would have sacrificed their own dignity—their *izzat*, as we call it in India—in pushing on, to the same extent, such reforms. I think people who are interested in good administration, whether in England or anywhere else, should also be prepared to support this proposition—that those who carry out the reforms should be allowed to reap the benefit of those reforms to the utmost.

Well, gentlemen, I have said enough, I think, on this question, and I will now conclude by thanking our friend Sir David Barr for the manner in which he has drawn up the paper. He has done it very cleverly, avoiding any controversial points, and I think he has shown in that paper that those political officers who show such skill and tact in dealing with the States and the native rulers have a quality which is of the highest importance in India,

where the standard of education varies, and where the officers also vary in character and temperament. I remember well Sir David Barr leaving India when he had such a splendid send-off from Hyderabad, and I hope that impressed on his mind the grateful feeling that the people of Hyderabad have towards him, and that it will always be an ever fresh memory to him. I only hope that the younger generation of officers will follow in the footsteps of such predecessors, and will encourage the native rulers and native races to rise to the occasion, and to make them fit to perform their duties to themselves with as little outside interference as possible. I think, as I have imposed the obligation upon other speakers not to take up time beyond a certain limit, that in giving a law to a person, it is most important that the person who legislates must act up to the law himself, and I will therefore now conclude my remarks by thanking you most heartily for the kind manner in which you have listened to my words.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: Your Highness, ladies and gentlemen, I rise to perform a duty which will be grateful to us all, and that is to express, not only on behalf of this meeting, but on behalf of our Association, of which I see many members present, the high sense of the honour which has been paid to us by His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda presiding on this occasion. (Hear, hear.) It was with the greatest gratification that I heard that he was able to accede to the request which I made to him, and to those who have heard His Highness's address to-day there is no necessity to praise his eloquence or his ability. It would be an impertinence to do so. I only trust that the wise and weighty words which he has honoured the Association by addressing to us to-day may be repeated by the press in a perfect and unmutated manner, so that they may be read by a great number of people in England to-morrow, who will understand how high a standard of conduct and character is placed before the Princes and people of India by His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda. (Loud applause.)

MR. T. H. THORNTON, D.C.L., C.S.I.: I have much pleasure in seconding my friend Sir Lepel Griffin's motion. Having acted for two years as Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, I know something of the affairs of Hyderabad and Baroda. I have heard with great pleasure Sir David Barr's testimony to the improved administration and resources of Hyderabad, and the great personal interest now taken by His Highness the Nizam himself in the affairs of the principality; and as to Baroda, we have all heard from the lips of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar, who has honoured us with his presence this afternoon, a statement of his views on education and of his conception of the duties of an Indian Prince towards his subjects—views which reflect the greatest credit upon him, and give proof that the high education he eloquently advocates for chiefs and people has had, in his own case, at any rate, a most beneficial result.

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We have since received the following letter from Sir Roland K. Wilson :

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."

SIR,—Sir David Barr's paper on "Hyderabad, Past and Present," as read before the East India Association on July 6, which will doubtless appear in your next issue, is curiously silent respecting the labours of the recently constituted Legislative Council. It is not even mentioned in his list of the departments of State. Yet among the Acts passed during the four or five years of its existence there is at least one calculated to startle the English reader, and concerning which some expert explanation would have been useful. I refer to Act No. II. of 1310 Fasli (1900?), amending the Game Protection Act of the preceding year (IV. of 1309 F.).

The principal Act had scheduled tigers as "game"; but to the clause authorizing the Prime Minister to prohibit the pursuit of game during the breeding season (S. 3) there was appended a proviso that "nothing contained in this section shall apply to tigers, cheetas, and any other man-eating animals, or preclude proprietors and occupiers of lands from adopting such measures as may be necessary for the protection of crops or produce growing on their lands."

This proviso rendered the classing of tigers as game comparatively harmless, because the effect of the only sections still applicable to them (5, 6, and 7) was merely to prevent the organization of tiger-hunts without permission in the preserves of His Highness the Nizam, or of the Government, or of a Jagirdar. But the amending (?) Act substitutes the following materially different proviso: "Provided that nothing contained in this section shall apply to panthers, *man-eating tigers, or any other tiger habitually addicted to killing cattle in any particular place, or any other man-eating animals*, or preclude any person from adopting such measures as may be necessary for the protection of any man or cattle."

The result appears to be that the Hyderabad tiger, like the English dog, is legally entitled to "one bite" before any reflection can be cast on his character; but whereas the much-criticised common-law rule as to the dog only affects the civil liability of his master, the dog himself remaining equally under his master's protection and control before and after his first bite, the tiger who has not yet been proved to be a man-eater or cattle-worrier has full protection without control, and can multiply his kind in peace while biding his time for declaring war.

The last words of the section cannot be so interpreted as to nullify all that precedes, and cannot therefore be held to justify what one naturally imagines to be the sole effective method of protecting men and cattle, namely, the total extermination of their natural enemy.

Does this systematic preservation of tigers spring from deference towards some native superstition, or is it in any way connected with that "lavish hospitality to European visitors" on which so much stress was laid by one of the subsequent speakers? On either view, legislation of this type helps to explain a remark of the lecturer as to the sparseness of population in a large part of the Nizam's dominions.

ROLAND K. WILSON.

## FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, July 31, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair, at which the following, amongst others, were present: Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. W. Coldstream, Dr. John Pollen, LL.D., C.I.E., Colonel C. H. T. Marshall, Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Shaikh Abdul Qadir, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. Henry Lubeck, Mr. L. W. Ritch, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. J. W. Fox, Mr. Donald Reid, Mrs. Aublet, Mrs. Corbett, Mr. Victor Corbett, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, the Misses Delaney, Miss Campbell, Mr. C. W. Whish, Mr. T. R. Dhir, Mr. Dhooma Mall, Mr. Nathu Ram, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, I.C.S., Mr. Lajpat Rai, Mr. D. Masaldan, Dr. S. Ram, Mr. Bashir Ahmad, Mr. J. V. Desai, Mr. E. Hormuz, Mr. R. J. Vakil, Mr. W. Ashley Larkins, Miss A. Smith, Miss Sinha, Mr. A. Eggar, Mr. George Rumbold, Mr. W. Martin Wood, Miss S. Chapman Hand, Mr. Arthur Wood, I.C.S., Miss James, Mr. Mohindar, Miss V. M. Townend, Mr. Kapur Singh.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, apologized for having called a meeting so late in the season, the reason, which he thought sufficient, being that Sirdar Arjan Singh, who was returning to India, desired to read a paper on "Early Marriage," and there was no alternative but to fix the meeting, as had been done, or refuse the paper altogether. This the Chairman did not wish; for, first, the lecture dealt with a subject second to none in importance to the people of India, and, secondly, it was so closely concerned with considerations of religion, caste, and custom, that he preferred it being treated by a native gentleman if he felt himself able to approach the subject in the delicate and liberal sense in which the writer had treated it. Another reason was because he had a personal and friendly interest in Sirdar Arjan Singh, and desired to introduce him to an English audience. Thirty years ago he (the Chairman) was in charge of the State of Kapurthala. The then Raja, father of the present chief, was incapable of performing his duties, and the whole administration was placed by the Government in English hands for the minority, and it was then that he became a warm friend of Sirdar Arjan Singh's grandfather, a relative of the then Rajah, and one of the foremost Ministers of the State. Sirdar Arjan Singh's father was also a friend of his, so that it was a great pleasure to him to introduce to the meeting this young man, who came of a high and honourable race, who was thus the third generation of his friends, and a devoted servant of the Kapurthala State. He had no doubt that in his turn he would do as good service to his State and to India as his grandfather and father before him. (Applause).

SIRDAR ARJAN SINGH then read the following paper, entitled "Early Marriages in India."\*

\* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

MR. NATHU RAM said he could not help expressing his admiration for the masterly manner in which the lecturer had dealt with the subject, which was of great importance to Indians, and upon which the future salvation of India depends. Early marriage was one of the chief evils of India, out of which sprung a great many other evils, among which was the sacrifice of education. In India parents immediately after the birth of a child think it their bounden duty to marry him or her in preference to giving education, whereas the money spent on these early marriages, which are so detrimental to the future prosperity of the country, would have been better invested if spent in education. (Applause.) A further result of such marriages was that the husbands could not migrate or move to places where they could find the proper sort of work to do as they could in European countries, where they could seek and follow whatever kind of business they liked best. As regards Government interference, he thought it was high time the Government interfered. If the matter was to be left at the option of the people, it would require centuries before the position of the Indian woman would be uplifted and the custom of early marriages obliterated. It would be a pity to wait so long when the same thing could be done by Government in a shorter time. With regard to the restrictive legislation in Baroda and Mysore, when that legislation was passed three or four years ago, it was announced that the number of girls who were widows was enormously large while they were even under the age of one, which meant that the children were promised to be married before their birth.

MR. A. YUSUF ALI, I.C.S., said the evils of early marriages had been very clearly pointed out by the lecturer, and he did not think any educated man throughout the length and breadth of India would gainsay that early marriages were an unmixed evil. Perhaps the word "unmixed" ought to be modified. It had been already pointed out by the lecturer and by the chairman that there were points of view from which the custom might be looked at in a more tolerant mood than would be implied if the words "unmixed evil" were used. Every institution which had existed for any length of time had its historical causes, and could no doubt be justified and explained on grounds of utility at the time and in the circumstances in which it originated. No doubt infant marriages could be defended on such grounds, but there could be no two opinions that in the circumstances of the present day early marriages were an unmixed evil: they deteriorated the physique of the nation; they acted upon the poor children, whose time should be spent in acquiring knowledge and experience, by burdening them too early with the cares of life; and, further, they affected (which was the most serious evil of all) the future progeny.

Anyone who had given thought to the question of infant mortality in India must have been struck with the remarkable figures brought out in the tables. Speaking only of the United Provinces, which he happened to know best, about two years ago the increase of infant mortality was so great that the local Government discussed the question in a resolution. It was pointed out that there were many causes which operated in this



direction, though no sufficient emphasis was laid on the question of early marriages as the cause of this evil. Half of the children that were born were not physically fit to live, not only as regards the circumstances in which they were born, and as regards the fitness of the mothers to take care of them, and the fitness of the fathers to provide for the sanitary measures which should be taken, but as regards the initial amount of fitness for life that they possessed on account of immature parents. It was only to be expected that the children should also be immature, as the statistics, in fact, proved.

This being the case, how was it that the custom did not die a natural death? Surely there could be no difficulty in abolishing a thing which everybody seemed to be unanimous in thinking ought to be abolished. Unfortunately the question had got mixed up with the question of religion. Professor Max Müller was, I think, the first to point out that the question of early marriage, like the question of suttee, rested upon a misinterpretation of a certain text; but whether it was so or not, if he were a Hindoo, most firmly convinced of the inspiration of the Vedas and all the religious books that the Hindoo must rigidly hold in such honour (and although a Mahomedan, he held the Hindu Scriptures in very great reverence), he should reason in this way: "Let us look at the broad facts of ancient Hindu life and ancient Hindu history: what do we find? I suppose no Hindu ever questioned the fact that Sita was one of the most exemplary women, and that the state of society in which she lived would not be a bad one to introduce into modern India, but she selected her own husband. Think of what that means. Can a little baby of ten months old select her husband? No." It was not a case of Sita alone. Women in those days, by a national custom, were in the habit of selecting their husbands. When a girl was marriageable, if she was a princess, her father invited all the eligible bachelors of her position of life, who had various trials of skill, like those described in the heroic poems, and after that it was left to the girl to choose which of them she would have. The nomination, to a certain extent, lay with the parents, because the parents invited a certain number of eligible persons, to one of whom the parents would naturally like to give their consent, but the final selection of the particular individual rested entirely with the bride. That was the case in ancient times, and it was not an isolated instance, but one of the broad facts of the history of those times. Broad facts and concrete instances were far more important in the understanding of ancient ideas than particular texts, which might be vague and capable of being interpreted in one manner or another. Stress might rightly be laid on the fact that this custom of early marriage was a comparatively late innovation, and therefore as conservatives they ought to go back to the old and more rational method. (Applause.)

A great reason why the custom was not abolished at once was not want of education in a general sense, as had been mentioned, but want of female education in particular. Everyone who had received English education agreed that the custom was pernicious; everyone would like to see it

abolished ; but many friends of his who had studied at the Universities, when they went back to India were entirely unable to stem the tide of public opinion. Why was that ? It was because the ladies of the house did not agree with them, and they did not carry female opinion with them. After all, in all family matters in all countries the opinion of the ladies was of paramount importance. (Applause.) If it were not so family life would not be what it is. Those who believed the custom to be evil, and one which ought to be abolished, should enlist that opinion which alone could abolish it—viz., the opinion of wives, sisters, mothers, and female cousins. It was only then that the reform could be effected. (Hear, hear.) One of the steps for attaining that object was female education, which seemed to be one great remedy for thousands and thousands of the evils that at present existed in India. The opinions imbibed early from mothers and sisters were naturally the strongest opinions, and although he was one of those who believed that the Indian woman was inferior to no other woman in the world, yet she was handicapped greatly by her surroundings and her lack of education. The advancement of female education and the growth of a like feeling in these matters amongst their women should be looked forward to, rather than any of those remedies which had been mentioned.

In particular he entirely agreed with the remarks of the Chairman that the British Government, under the circumstances in which it is situated, could not undertake a reform like that ; but even if it felt that it ought to do so, he did not think the reform would be efficacious. A thing crammed down their throats by force of law would not have the same effect as if they, along with their women, felt convinced of the evil of the custom and let it die a natural death. (Applause.) As to the legislation of Baroda and Mysore, he thought there was a little misapprehension on the subject. Although not an authority on the matter, he had once had the privilege of talking to the Gaekwar about it, and was under the impression that the legislation aimed at was practically on the lines of the Age of Consent Act—i.e., a man might marry his boy or girl at any age, but muklava would not be allowed until the statutory age was reached. And even there exceptions had been made. In certain cases persons might go before the magistrate and make certain declarations upon which a certain amount of tolerance to conscientious objections would be given. The legislation in those two States had been too recent to enable us to judge of the effect of it, and although he considered the legislation to have been entirely in the right direction, he did not think it would be fruitful of as much good as people expected who always believed in legislative machinery. It would be far better to have no legislation on the subject, but to work out their own ideas, and to feel that they had been the authors of their own salvation. (Applause.)

MR. LAJPAT RAI, of Lahore, said he yielded to none in his desire to see this pernicious custom of early marriage rooted out from India, but he must dissent as regards the remedies suggested by the lecturer. The remedy did not lie in legislative measures, but in the people dealing with

it themselves. He agreed with the last speaker that the true remedy was in the spread of education in general, and of female education in particular, and he could not let this opportunity pass of letting the meeting know what had been done in India itself to remedy the evil; because people here might be under the impression that in India they were all sitting idle, looking to the Government to help them in the matter, and doing nothing themselves. So far as regards infant marriages, there was a unanimity of opinion as to this pernicious custom not being sanctioned by the sacred works of the Hindoos. Of the reforming agencies at work in India, the first in the field was the Brahmo Samaj, which condemned this custom out and out. The same was true of the Arya Samaj, which went even further than the Brahmo Samaj, in so far that while the Brahmos recognised eighteen as the marriageable age for boys and sixteen for girls, the Arya Samajists declared that any marriage of a boy under twenty-five and a girl under sixteen was unauthorized by law, was against religion, and was to a certain extent immoral. A very large number pledged themselves to that. Considering the dense ignorance which prevailed in India, the reform could not be expected to proceed at the rapid rate which they would all desire, but there was no doubt the meeting would be pleased to know that the various caste organizations and orthodox Salehas, called the Sanatan Salehas, had also begun to see the evil of the practice. The authorities of the Central Hindoo College at Benares had declared the early marriage of Hindoo boys and girls as being against the ancient shastras, and an improper thing; in fact, the authorities of the college had ruled that no married boy would be admitted to their school. That example was being followed by other religious institutions and schools all over India. At the religious and social conferences, held at the end of the year, resolutions were being passed against the custom, and everything was being done to spread the propaganda of reform. The native Princes, too, had begun to realize the importance of the question. H.H. the Maharaja of Baroda and other Princes were taking the lead in the matter, and with the help of all these influences at work it seemed very likely that the reform would become an accomplished fact as education spread in India, and although extreme measures might, with great zeal and very sincerely, be advocated, they might not, after all, have to be resorted to. Then there seems to be some misconception about the position of women in India. According to the old Hindoo shastras, women always used to occupy a very high position. The Vedas laid down that no religious ceremony of importance could be performed by the head of a Hindoo household unless he had his wife at his side. Many texts could be quoted which went to show that the Hindoo women of old used to be thoroughly well educated, and could perform these duties satisfactorily. There were certain well-known verses in the Laws of Manu which distinctly laid down that if the family did not do honour to the women and provide them with all comforts, it would go to ruin very soon. Even now a Hindoo thought of nothing so much as he thought of protecting his women and keeping them from danger, and also of providing them with the best jewellery; in fact, most of a

Hindoo gentleman's income was spent in providing jewellery and nice clothes for his women. (Laughter.) The Hindú law has always been known to give full rights of property to women, while the English law knew no such thing till only lately. As such the position of a Hindú female was in no way inferior to that of an English woman, except that sufficient was not being done to educate the former. Therefore the picture was not so dark as it was painted, and he would ask his Indian friends to put their shoulders to the wheel, and go back to India and do their best by spreading education, and thereby bringing home to the people that the custom of early marriages was pernicious. They were putting the Government in a very false position by urging Government action, and he deprecated any such step very strongly.

SHAIKH ABDUL QADIR said he did not share the somewhat despondent tone adopted by the lecturer as to the chances of success of this reform unless the Government came to the help of the people in effecting it. He believed that the reform was already making headway in the country, and that there was a body of intelligent opinion growing in its favour. He agreed with Mr. Abdullah Yusuf Ali in thinking that the solution of the question rested finally in the hands of the people themselves. He took exception to that part of the lecturer's analysis of the causes of the custom which attributed the origin of this to the invasion from Central Asia and the high-handedness of the invaders. The theory which held the Central Asian invaders responsible for this, as well as for the partial introduction of the purdah among the Hindus, was now exploded, and a large number of authorities upon the subject tended to the view that the causes must be sought elsewhere.

The CHAIRMAN observed that although several Englishmen had intimated a desire to speak upon the question, he thought the meeting would agree with him that it was really more useful to hear the views of Indian gentlemen than of Englishmen, however deeply interested they might be in the subject. Those gentlemen had therefore waived their right to speak in favour of their Indian friends.

The CHAIRMAN then said: I would first compliment the lecturer on having treated an exceedingly delicate subject with tact, and in a very moderate, liberal, and interesting manner. The subject is a very important one as regards both the social and physical welfare of the people of India. The Government has done a certain amount in the direction indicated by the lecturer, and it is very difficult for it to do more. To me it is news to hear that the Governments of Baroda and Mysore have passed Acts limiting the age at which marriage can be legally performed. Those ancient and honourable Hindoo States are able to do more in such a direction than the British Government can, or would desire to do. Our position with regard to all Indian customs and religions, or pseudo-religious observances, is to maintain absolute impartiality, and so long as any practice does not come into conflict with the criminal code, as was the case with suttee and infanticide, to allow perfect freedom to Hindoos and Mahomedans throughout India. Our lecturer has naturally dealt with the Hindoo side of the

question, but I think justice to the Mahomedan community demands that we should acknowledge the very beneficent and generous manner in which the married woman is treated under Mahomedan law, a position little understood by ignorant critics of Mahomedan society. With regard to Hindu early marriage, I speak with some authority, because I had for many years fought, hard—so far as was consistent with my position—to raise the age of consent, and to improve the position of the Hindoo wife, and especially the Hindoo widow. Mr. Malabari is a great friend of mine, and we (that is, those working at that time in India) did obtain an immense boon to the women of India by raising the age of consent (that is, the age at which a girl may live with her husband) from ten to twelve years. Everyone of sense must see that that change was a vast and unmixed benefit to the Hindu female population of India. But in granting this concession to the spirit of reform, the Government have gone as far as they can in legislative action, and I am almost tempted to think that the suggestion of the lecturer to only give marriage legal force after the husband has completed twelve years and the wife ten years would be almost a retrograde step. I would prefer to see adopted the Baroda code, or the suggestion of Mr. Whitely Stokes that sixteen and twelve respectively should be the minimum ages of legal marriage if it be possible for the English Government to take further action to prevent premature widowhood. In dealing with India with regard to these questions, we have to proceed very cautiously. You must remember that customs, especially when they are bound up, or supposed, traditionally, to be bound up with religion, are very delicate things to touch, and because a custom does not appear to us to be wholesome or wise, it does not follow that it may not now be, or have been at one time, admirably suited to the people amongst whom you find it. (Hear, hear.) Many people may argue that so long as the limit is not fixed too low, early marriage is a most excellent thing, and I am disposed to agree with them. When it was first forced upon India it was a time of stress, storm, and difficulty, and marriage no doubt saved the woman of India from many troubles which in time of war would have fallen upon them if they had not been protected by the shield of matrimony. We may not think that the customs of India with regard to women are altogether admirable, but you must understand that reform in social customs can only be effected by the gradual enlightenment of the people, and with their own consent and acceptance. Looking back to when I was a young man, what was the condition of women in England? They were in the very lowest state you can possibly conceive, so far as their rights in the marriage state were concerned. It was only in 1872 that a working woman was able to keep for herself her earnings; a drunken or tyrannical husband could take everything from her. It was only in 1882 that a woman obtained full control over her property. Before that time it was entirely in the possession and at the disposal of her husband, and she was little more than a slave. All this is now changed, and to-day England is the only country in the world in which a woman has acquired full rights of property, and stands in an equal, and, indeed, in a more favourable position, than men. The

position of women in this country is far above that which is allowed in the United States of America.

These advantages have only been won for women by the elevation of popular sentiment, and by a long series of contests. You cannot force things upon people that they will not have ; but I do strongly believe that the position of Indian women is day by day improving, and that the unfortunate position of the Indian widow, who is treated from the time she is a child to the day of her death as if she were under a curse, and as the drudge of the family, is a position which the great intelligence of the warm-hearted Indian people will not allow her always to occupy. Indian gentlemen who come to England will, I hope, carry back with them this expression of my firm hope and belief that their efforts will be directed to the defence of the most oppressed and miserable being among their people—the Indian widow. (Applause.)

With regard to early marriage under reasonable conditions, I will say no word against it. It is the custom of the people, and no doubt every intelligent Hindu gentleman will use every effort to remove those parts of it which require reform. As to Mahomedans, there is an idea in Europe that the great prophet of Islam left woman in a position of great ignominy ; but this is in no way the case. In Arabia in his time the woman was treated worse than a slave. Mahomed raised her status immensely, and left her rights in India, Arabia, Turkey, and throughout Islam infinitely more secure than that of English women before 1882. With regard to marriage, remember this, that about 80 millions of the inhabitants of India are Mahomedans, and among them no woman can be married without her consent, express or implied. She cannot be married before the age of puberty, or until she understands what she is doing. Her rights in marriage and divorce and widowhood are guarded by Mahomedan law, and nothing which the English Government has done for the protection of Indian women has at all offended the sentiment or susceptibilities of the Mahomedans of India. They have been in entire accord with us from the beginning.

The LECTURER thanked the members present for having listened so patiently to his paper.

Votes of thanks to the lecturer and the chairman were then carried, and the proceedings terminated.

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## ANNUAL MEETING.

THE annual meeting of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, July 31, 1905. Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., presided. Among those present were Mr. F. Lorain Petre, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Sirdar Arjan Singh, Mr. Nathu

Ram, Mr. Martin Wood, Mr. Donald Reid, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, hon. sec.

On the proposal of the CHAIRMAN, seconded by SIRDAR ARJAN SINGH, the annual report and accounts were adopted.

Letters were read from Mr. Robert Sewell and Mr. J. B. Pennington, suggesting that the assets of the Association should in future appear in the accounts. This was adopted.

The CHAIRMAN stated that out of the £1,000 sent to him by the Maharaja Sindhia, to be employed at his discretion for the purposes of the Association, a small portion had been used to meet current expenses.

MR. MARTIN WOOD criticised the passage in the report concerning Chinese labour in the Transvaal.

On the proposal of the CHAIRMAN, seconded by MR. MARTIN WOOD, the following three retiring members of Council were re-elected: Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., Sir M. M. Bhowndegree, K.C.I.E., M.P., and A. K. Connell, Esq., M.A.

The CHAIRMAN mentioned that H.H. Raja-i-Rajan, the Maharaja of Kapurthala, had consented to become a Vice-President, and but for his absence from the country during July would have presided at a meeting.

The CHAIRMAN then proposed the re-election of Lord Reay as President for the ensuing year, and highly eulogized his services to the Association.

This was seconded by MR. COLDSTREAM, and carried with acclamation.

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## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE Council of the East India Association beg to submit the report and accounts for the year 1904-1905.

The past year and that portion of the present which covers our summer session and ends on August 1, 1905, has been full of the deepest interest and importance to the whole world, and very specially to the British Empire in

the East, whose future, through all time, must be affected by the results of the war between Japan and Russia. It would ill become our Association, which includes amongst its members so many of the most distinguished of the Princes of India, and so many Statesmen who have successfully administered His Majesty's Government in the East, to attempt to minimize or deny the far-reaching effects which will be the result of the transfer of the balance of power in the Pacific. They are for the British Empire in India both an encouragement and a warning. An encouragement in that the British race, in conformity with the traditions which they have for many hundred years maintained and cherished; have applied to the Eastern dominions of His Majesty those principles of liberty, justice, equality before the law, and religious toleration which they assert at home, and which are the foundation of their prosperity. A warning to the rulers of India that they should in no measure relax their efforts to widen the bounds of liberty; to extend the blessings of a reasonable and fruitful education; to develop the industries of India; to improve its agricultural methods; to include a larger number of its educated and upper classes in the administration; and to reduce, as far as may be practicable, the taxes which press most heavily upon the poor. If the British Government of India applies itself with whole-hearted energy to this Imperial task, we shall see each year the Indian peoples more contented and prosperous, and the roots of the British Empire in the East will strike deep—secure against rebellion within and hostility without—in the gratitude and affection of a loyal and free people.

The Council would desire to respectfully express its deep satisfaction at the decision of His Majesty that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales shall visit India this year, and they have no doubt that this auspicious event will have the happiest results in stimulating the affection and loyalty of Princes and people to the Crown.

His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, a Vice-President of the Association, took the chair at one of our



latest meetings, and the Raja of Kapurthala (Raja-i-Rajagan) has become a Vice-President.

The papers read before the Association during the past year have been of variety and importance, and the Council has endeavoured to obtain lecturers who would deal with matters of practical rather than speculative interest, and assist, by discussion, the industrial development of India. In this direction the papers of Mr. J. D. Rees on the "Tea Trade," Mr. Durant Beighton on "Tobacco," Mr. Thorburn on "Protection in India," and Mr. D. Edwards-Radclyffe on "Ramie," may be noted. Two Indian gentlemen, Sheikh Abdul Qadir and Sirdar Arjan Singh, have lectured before the Association.

Questions in which we were concerned last year—the education of Tamil-speaking children on the tea estates of Ceylon and the treatment of Indians in the British Colonies of South Africa—have continued to receive our attention. The former has formed the subject of correspondence with the Colonial Office and the Governor of Ceylon, published in a recent Blue-Book, and the matter is receiving the local attention it required. The efforts of the Association with regard to the latter have been well supplemented by a member of our Council, Sir M. M. Bhowndegree, in the House of Commons; but progress is difficult, and the Association can only repeat their protest that a puerile opposition to the employment of Chinese in South Africa, of the conditions of which neither the labourers themselves nor their Government make any complaint, should engage the attention of the House of Commons while they ignore altogether the shameful, inequitable and degrading disabilities which Trade Unionism and Colonial prejudice impose on our honest, industrious, and loyal Indian fellow subjects when they emigrate to Cape Colony, the Transvaal, or Natal. This is one of the burning questions which must be satisfactorily and justly solved; and both the House and the Indian Government must realize that it is a grievance which they will be compelled, sooner or later, to redress.

It is hoped that one of the early papers in the winter session of the Association will again deal with this subject.

The resolution which was unanimously passed at the meeting held to discuss Mr. Thorburn's paper, "India under Protection," that India should be assigned a place proportional to her importance in the Empire, and her representatives should include independent and unofficial members, English and Indian, of British India and Native States, adequately representing her more important interests and industries, was sent to the Secretary of State for India and other prominent statesmen.

The following papers have been read before the Association during the past session :

Friday, June 24, 1904. J. B. Pennington, Esq., B.L. Cantab., "A Suggestion for the Abolition of the Salt Monopoly." Dr. Jonathan Hutchinson, LL.D., F.R.S., in the chair. The Council are glad to be able to state that the salt tax has recently again been reduced.

Wednesday, July 20, 1904. J. D. Rees, Esq., C.I.E., "Tea Trade and Taxation." Sir Edward Sassoon, Bart., M.P., in the chair.

Tuesday, December 13, 1904. Sir William Mackworth Young, K.C.S.I. (late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab), "The Progress of the Punjab." Sir James Lyall, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., in the chair.

Tuesday, December 20, 1904. T. Durant Beighton, Esq., I.C.S., "The Possibilities of the Indian Tobacco Industry." The Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., in the chair.

Monday, January 30, 1905. S. S. Thorburn, Esq., I.C.S. (late Financial Commissioner, Punjab), "The Place of India under Protection." The Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., in the chair.

Wednesday, March 29, 1905. D. Edwards-Radcliffe, Esq., "Ramie, the Textile of the Future: a Promising Industry for India." The Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D. in the chair.

Thursday, April 18, 1905. Sheikh Abdul Qadir B.A. (of the Lahore *Observer*), "The Future of the Hindustani Language and Literature." Ameer Ali, Esq., M.A., C.I.E., in the chair (late a Judge of His Majesty's High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal).

Thursday, June 8, 1905. Mr. F. H. Skrine, "Hydrophobia in the East." Sir Edward Strachey, Bart., M.P., in the chair.

Thursday, July 6, 1905. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir David Barr, K.C.S.I. (late Resident, Hyderabad), "Hyderabad, Past and Present." H.H. the Maharajah Gaekwar of Baroda in the chair.

Monday, July 31, 1905. Sirdar Arjan Singh, of Kapurthala, "Early Marriages in India." Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

The following members of Council retire by rotation. They are eligible and offer themselves for re-election :

Sir William Wedderburn, Bart.,  
Sir M. M. Bhowmagree, K.C.I.E., M.P.,  
A. K. Connell, Esq., M.A.

The following have been elected members of the Association :

J. W. Fox, Esq.,  
Reasut Hossain, Esq.,  
Sirdar Arjan Singh,  
Shaikh Abdul Qadir,  
Anandi Prasad Dubé, Esq.,  
Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G.,

W. Colin Kirkpatrick, Esq.,  
Lieutenant-Colonel Sir David Barr, K.C.S.I.  
The Director of Agriculture and Industries,  
Baroda State.

Two members have resigned their membership, Dr. David Duncan and Chawdry Dulip Singh Sharma.

Receipts for the year including balance at bankers and in hand, £482 2s. 3d.; expenditure, £429 17s. 4d.; and balance at bankers and in hand, £52 4s. 11d.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## THE LAND REVENUE SYSTEM OF MADRAS.

SIR,

In the July number of your *Review* (1905)\* there is a letter from Mr. J. B. Pennington, in which he says he intends to refer "pretty freely" to an article of mine in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1903, on "Indian Revenue and Land Systems." As he has made his strictures publicly, I trust you will allow me to reply to them in the same manner, for to my mind his remarks are superficial.

I have shown on the highest modern authorities that there are but two possible methods by which the products of the earth can be enhanced *both* in quantity and value, and I stated that in none of the systems for collecting land revenue which have prevailed for centuries in India neither of these two methods had ever found any place, and in consequence no improvements had ever been made in agricultural industries by those ancient systems.

Mr. Pennington has not attempted to show that the modern authorities I had quoted were wrong in principle, but tells me to study the "Amani system," as described by Sir A. Seshia Shastri, "under which the crop is *actually divided*," ignoring altogether those two methods by which alone the products of the earth can be increased at all. If he will explain what the advantages of this latest system of collecting land revenue in India are to the Government or the ryot, one might think it worth while to consider the subject, and see if it possesses anything better than the two simple methods of Adam Smith, Hallam, J. S. Mill, and all modern authorities on economic science; but it is

\* See pp. 178-182.

useless to tell us to study a work by a native of India who does not show that he is more enlightened than those great authorities of European reputation.

Mr. Pennington complains that I charge the revenue authorities with still following "the old Indian custom of extracting all we possibly can from the people, and leaving their industries to starve," etc. In so doing I have done nothing more than what Mr. Rogers says in his letter in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January, 1904, p. 194, "that he once heard a Madras civilian say to another: 'You know, So-and-so, I always thought those rates (in some particular district of which I have forgotten the name) *were too high, but the Brahmins would not let me reduce them.*'" As this same Brahminical influence prevails in every district of the Madras Presidency, under the authority of the head Sharistadar of the Board of Revenue, Madras, it is perfectly absurd to say the ryots have any security for improvements they make, and the right of appeal to the collector of the district, who cannot act in anywise *but as the Brahmins allow him to do.*

Mr. Pennington says that I must surely know the *general tendency* in Madras has been to *reduce assessments* very largely, etc., and in the P.S. of his letter he says that after reading Mr. Dutt's *most illuminating work*, "India in the Victorian Age," "I must confess that he seems to prove that the baneful practice of *over-assessment* has gone further of *late years* than *I* had imagined." By this admission he shows that I was not wrong in anywise in this matter, and if to this baneful practice, "against which the ryot has no appeal, as above shown, we add that he is also liable for all arrears of land revenue in consequence of bad seasons, etc., and has to support himself and his family by borrowing from the sowcars at usurious rates of interest, his lot is about as miserable as it well can be under the tender rule and influence of the Brahmin caste, for whose *religious prejudices* so much regard must be entertained under the British raj! And this is carrying out

Her late Majesty's proclamation to do "justice and judgment" to all her Indian subjects, without reference to creed, caste, or colour, by those Mr. Pennington calls "the better class of officials" in his estimation!

Mr. Pennington taxes me with making surprising mistakes, and says I quoted the Viceroy as saying that it is impossible to find water enough in the whole of India for more than 20 million acres of land, etc. The *exact* words I made use of are as follows: "When Lord Curzon declared, soon after assuming the reins of the Government of India, that by a *carefully-prepared estimate* which had been furnished to him, it was impossible to extend the area of irrigation by more *than 3 million* acres, he made a most serious mistake"; and I proceeded to show by the careful observations and data collected by Sir A. Binny, C.E., at the Nagpur waterworks that on an average there was water enough in the Godavery basin *alone*, if properly consumed, for the irrigation of *20 million acres of land*. As the Irrigation Commission give the average annual rainfall in this basin at 20 per cent. higher than I had taken it to be, it is pretty plain I had made no misleading statements in regard to this matter, and if Mr. Pennington had studied the matter more fully, he would not have resorted to the common artifice of misrepresentation in order to confute me; but this is a very usual practice in India amongst Cutcherry Brahmins, and hence the House of Commons takes so little interest in Indian affairs, as they always declare you can get no reliable facts from that country, and the City of London has much the same idea about trading with India.

Mr. Pennington admits that by Joseph's law there would be *no arrears of revenue*, but he fails to notice that by this same law "the baneful practice of over-assessment," as he himself terms it, would also be entirely avoided. His objection is that the revenue officials could not find the exact yield of every field every year, and he advises me to study the Amani system, by which the crop *is actually*

*divided, and must be measured*, of course. How do the revenue officials perform this operation annually, and find no inconvenience in it?

Joseph's law would give the cultivator fixity of tenure, fair rents, and freedom of sale. By means of a Panchayet in each village, the share of the Government could be very easily ascertained, and the interference of pettifogging officials could be done away with entirely. By this system the ryot would feel it was to *his interest* to secure a fair share to the Government which provided him sure means of earning a livelihood, and prevented his being over-assessed at any time; and it would be for the *interest* of the Government to take measures to make the yield as large and as valuable as possible, as Adam Smith says. In none of the systems of collecting land revenue in India have any of these objects found any place whatever. As Mr. Pennington admits that "the baneful practice of over-assessment" prevails even more than *he* imagined in the collecting of land revenue in India, on what grounds does he advise me to study "the Amani system as described by Sir A. Seshia Shastri?" and does not show that this baneful practice does not exist in it. This baneful practice, it is well known, is common in all the systems of land revenue which have prevailed in India in all ages, and its fruits are to be seen in the gross ignorance and miserable poverty prevailing all over the country amongst the population. The certain criterion by which this can be ascertained is to look at the hovels in which the people have always lived; no pig-sties or dog-kennels would be allowed to remain in England in such a condition of squalor, filth, and beastliness in general.

If, whilst Mr. Pennington was in India, he had studied Sir A. Cotton's works in the Tanjore, Godavery, and Kistna districts, and learnt the principles on which these works were carried out, he would never have had cause to fear about the Government revenue—that chronic fear belongs to Cutcherry Brahminism, and those who allow



themselves to be infected by such dry-rot. These districts, *before* these works had been instituted for their benefit, could not pay 60 lacs of rupees a year revenue securely to the Government. By the most vigorous application of the endless screw, they *now* pay *with the utmost ease* over 300 lacs of rupees a year revenue, and are the most prosperous, contented, and progressive districts in all India, and but for the injudicious opposition of the revenue authorities could have paid the Government much more in revenue; for the water-rates have always been made so as to *depreciate* as much as possible the value of the works. As, for instance, in the Godavery district the water-rate, after fifteen years' delay, was made only Rs. 4 *per acre* for the most abundant supply of water to lands of the greatest fertility, whilst in Bellary, on the Toongabadra channels, this rate was made Rs. 9 *per acre* for lands which could not yield a quarter of the produce of the Delta lands, and then the accounts are made up to show the Delta works do not pay more than some 9 per cent., or something of that kind.

I am quite aware that many attempts at road-making have been carried out in South India, but all the methods adopted are wrong in principle, and in consequence little or nothing has been done towards *reducing cost of transport*, and the outlay on them has been almost waste. A road without bridges is about as useful as the fifth wheel of a coach; the gradients have never been properly regulated, and the metalling never properly put in. Even here, in this large cantonment of Bangalore, the roads are miserably bad, although there is abundance of the best material at hand to make the most excellent roads. Mr. Pennington should study "Gillespie on Roads," and Telford's "Specification for a Turnpike Road," if he wishes to learn how such works ought to be constructed to answer all useful purposes. As he fails to appreciate what Adam Smith meant in saying the crop-roads of any country are of the "*utmost utility*" to the country in general in the quotation

I gave from "The Wealth of Nations," it will answer no good purpose to write more on this subject.

As regards the progress of irrigation works in Madras, here is the *latest* specimen we possess, taken from *Indian Engineering* of July 1, 1905: "*The Nagavalli River Project.*—This scheme was originally ordered to be investigated in 1888, and was therefore *sixteen years incubating*. But that is not all. The sanctioned estimate is *under 8 lacs* of rupees, and the Madras Government proposed to complete the work in six years! The Inspector-General of Irrigation tritely observes that, 'Surely it ought to be possible to complete a *small scheme* like this in three years!' We agree." And this is the way irrigation has been attended to in Madras since Sir A. Cotton left India in 1859-1860. In his day the anikuts across *the two largest rivers* in South India—the Godavery and the Kistna—were completed in about three years, when the people in those districts were in the grossest ignorance, and did not know how to burn bricks or to cut stone properly, and now they require *six years* to deal with a common jungle stream!

It took about twenty months to prepare the revised estimates, amounting to *35 lacs of rupees*, for completing the Godavery works, with all the necessary information for the revenue returns, etc., and these were all sanctioned, with the cordial approbation and thanks of the Supreme Government, as being the most complete ever submitted to them. Thirty years ago work was being done in the Godavery district, with all available funds, at the rate of *10 and 11 lacs of rupees a year*; now they want *six years* to do work which is estimated to cost in *all 8 lacs of rupees*! I am afraid Mr. Pennington had little or no knowledge of the way Sir A. Cotton and his subordinates used to work and perform their duties to the State, but on this subject it is now useless to dilate. A man like Sir A. Cotton is as rare to find as a Wellington or a Nelson.

We had a doctor once who always declared the only safe

way to treat natives was to turn the Pharmacopœia upside down, and this appears to be Mr. Pennington's idea in reference to "The Wealth of Nations" and kindred works relating to production from the land.

Yours truly,

J. F. FISCHER,  
General, R.E.

BANGALORE,

August 2, 1905.

# JAPAN AND BRITAIN.

SIR,

Some time ago I saw in a colonial paper the reproduction of some remarks concerning my article in this *Review*\* upon the above subject. I at once set down a few words in reply, but have always kept them back, not knowing whom I had to answer. I now beg you to do me the favour to find a corner for them, as I have just been informed that the original criticism appeared in the *Review of Reviews* for November last.† Here is what I wrote :

I should like to explain that the daily press, not myself, was responsible for the premises to which exception has been taken. Thus it is the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent at St. Petersburg, repeatedly shown by the event to be unusually well informed, who made the "astounding assertion" complained of, that, towards the end of July, the Russian Grand Dukes were, with difficulty, prevailed upon to refrain from forcing on a war with Great Britain. The following are his words :

"The assurances given on Friday by the Foreign Office were not absolute, as was supposed, but were contingent upon the Imperial consent. . . . The Grand Dukes upheld the action of the cruisers, which was taken in obedience to express orders issued by the Grand Duke Alexander. . . . His view was that the *Malacca* should be conveyed to a Russian prize court in the usual way, and if the British battleships prevented her reaching her destination their

\* October, 1904.

† See p. 493.

opposition should be construed as an overt act of war. . . . How strong the opposition was against what may be termed the legal element of Russian Government may be inferred from the length of time it took before a final resolution was come to. . . . It is questionable if the matter would have been settled so satisfactorily if the German steamers had not also suffered " (July 25).

It is not according to me, again, but according to the war correspondents on the spot, that at Nanshan Japan's "scientific fanatics"—I cannot even lay claim to have originated this expression—persevered in their task of making breaches in the wire entanglements until every man engaged in it had been placed *hors de combat*; in other words, they did not quail "under a fire that laid them low to the extent of 100 per cent."

As for Russia's reverses having done nothing to cool her ardour for the conquest of India, the *Telegraph* correspondent bears witness to the continuance of the designs to which I had called attention. "This threat of a campaign against India," he says, "is real and sincere. The war party, whose influence has increased, is ready to undertake it" (November 16). Lieutenant-General C. B. Pennington, whose distinguished career in the Indian Army lends weight to his opinion, has, even more recently, insisted upon the necessity of being prepared to defend the Indian frontier. Three weeks ago he spoke of "the wonderful way in which Russia had sent to the seat of war, over a single line of railway, between 300,000 and 400,000 men, besides keeping them going with supplies and maintaining their numbers"; and he concludes that, "if Russia could do that in Manchuria she could far more easily do it on the frontiers of India, where she had two lines of communication for her troops" (December 12). And Lord Roberts, in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, says that "we are now, as regards India, in the same position as a continental nation, and may be called upon at any moment to put a very large army in the field."

The attack, it is clear, would be no child's play, and it is a matter of life and death to us that we should neglect no means of frustrating it. Such was my conclusion—not that we should wantonly draw the sword against the Russians.

*January 3, 1905.*

I have little to add to what I wrote six months ago. According to the *Morning Post* of June 3, "there are 200,000 Russian troops now collected on the Afghan frontier, at the head of the railways built expressly for the purpose of conveying them to their present positions." Here is another "astounding assertion," which points to its being more needful than ever that we should leave no stone unturned to hold our own, in case Russia thought of following up her Trafalgar by an Austerlitz at our expense. Fortunately, the danger has begun to be recognised in influential quarters, and adequate measures to cope with it are at last being spoken of.

R. G. CORBET.

*June 8, 1905.*

#### "BRITAIN'S DESTINY: GROWTH OR DECAY?"

SIR,

"Britain's Destiny: Growth or Decay?" by the late Cecil Balfour Phipson, edited by Mark B. F. Mayor (Cassell and Co., MCMV.)\* is a very convenient abstract or outline of two very weighty volumes, entitled, the "Redemption of Labour" and the "Science of Civilization," which do not appear to have attracted the attention they deserved, probably because of their great originality and the abstruse character of their subjects. This work of Mr. Mayor's certainly makes it easier to deal with Major Phipson's theories, and I should like to draw attention to some of them which seem to me somewhat inconclusive.

\* See our reference to this work in our "Reviews and Notices,"

His attack on factory work for women is extremely powerful, and, in my opinion, very sound ; but when, at the end of the chapter (p. 69 of the volume quoted above), he turns aside to attack land *nationalists* (*nationalizers ?*) he is, I think, something less than just to a very reasonable body of men. He says, very properly, that "the social salvation of wage-earners as a class depends not upon their robbing food-producers of 'unearned increment' as land nationalists urge them to do, and landlords have already done, *since such robbery necessarily prevents the free multiplication of purchases . . .*; but, on the contrary, in their assisting food-producers to retain 'unearned increment' by abolishing the landlords' veto on sub-letting, and so multiplying purchasers," etc.

But is it true that the better sort of land nationalizers, as represented by the Land Nationalisation Society, do urge the wage-earning classes to rob "food-producers of the unearned increment?" Do land nationalizers urge one class to rob another when they propose that the State should be the universal landlord on behalf of the community in general? They would still leave the occupier all that he is in strict justice entitled to, as Major Phipson himself shows in his preface to "*The Redemption of Labour*" (quoted on p. 5 *et seq.* of this volume), where he says that "the most important condition for the freedom of the wage-earner is that he should be *free to grow his own food* if the wages he can earn are insufficient to procure him the same comforts as a man" cultivating his own land would secure for himself; and, further, that the payment of true rent for such land, even a rack-rent, does not touch or trench upon the natural value of the land—upon, that is, its capacity to sustain the life of the "cultivator at whatever level his own unaided skill and industry can raise him to. . . . It does not deprive him, therefore, of anything to which he has a natural right, of any product of his own labour; but only withholds from him, if a rack-rent, *all*, or, if anything less than a rack-rent, *some* of such benefits

of civilization—*i.e.*, of other men's labours, as have accrued up to the time of the rent being first undertaken."

This argument seems to me to be a complete justification for the position taken up by the Land Nationalisation Society; but another important question remains, whether "such (so-called) 'robbery' (of the 'unearned increment') prevents the free multiplication of purchasers," and, as far as I can see, this question is not fully discussed in this volume, at any rate; nor is it shown how it happens that the transfer of the so-called "unearned increment" from the landlord to the State would "prevent the free multiplication of purchasers."

Not being quite clear how "the free multiplication of purchasers" is to be promoted by the change from the present system of "*landowning* by lords" to that of "*landholding* by tenants," I have some difficulty in discussing the question, and it occurs to me that some light may be thrown upon it by the condition of India, where we have had examples of both systems in actual operation for more than a century. Major Phipson's case is that if the landlord could be sure of a "fixed share of the produce of his land" *not* commuted into a variable measure of value like gold, he could then, with "fairness to himself, grant absolute fixity of tenure to his tenant as long as the rent was paid," and the tenant could sublet at a rack-rental, and so enjoy the full reward of his own labour. Now, this is very much what the Zemindars of Bengal have at last been compelled to do in dealing with their ryots; and the consequence, we are assured by many excellent authorities, is that the Bengal tenant is a far more prosperous and self-sustaining person than the ryot who holds direct from the State, as in Madras and Bombay, and who is *not* secure against periodical enhancement, though he also often succeeds in sub-letting his land at a rack-rental. It must be admitted, I think, that the purchasing power amongst the Bengálies is greater than amongst the holders of land on the ryotwári tenure, and it is difficult to avoid the

conclusion that *one* factor in the difference is the fixity of tenure and greater security against arbitrary enhancement which they have enjoyed, at any rate since 1885.

Perhaps the most interesting part of Major Phipson's work, however, and, I imagine, also the most original, is his denunciation of the British currency as contained in Appendix V., and to it I shall devote the rest of my remarks and such criticism as occurs to me.

Theoretically, of course, the British currency is of gold only; but Major Phipson gives many good reasons for his contention that, in point of fact, the gold in circulation being utterly inadequate as currency, our currency now is far more largely made up of cheques on private banks. "Not more than one-tenth" (of the currency) "consists of 'legal' pounds composed of a metal *intrinsically* and *internationally valuable*." The consideration of this fact brings him to his main thesis—namely, that *the medium of exchange should be valueless*, and that gold is really the very worst medium of exchange that could have been adopted, especially since it has been so largely adopted by other nations as to form practically an international currency. Its disadvantages, he says, arise from its *scarcity*, *weight*, and *internationality*, and the worst of these is "internationality." The supply of gold being strictly limited, the number of money units composable of gold is still more limited, and as the demand for "money" constantly increases the more a country becomes civilized, the more does the number of coins constantly tend to become insufficient for the needs of the community. Hence a continuous fall of prices most ruinous to food-producers, because, of course, "the quantities of produce exacted as rent increase in proportion as the price of the produce falls."

The *weight* of gold is another disadvantage which led to the substitution of bank-notes for gold, and now of cheques for bank-notes, with the very significant result embodied in Table XXV. (on p. 77), from which it appears that whilst the quantity of gold in private hands has only increased



from £46,000,000 in 1845 to £90,000,000 in 1896, the amount of the cheques that have passed through the Clearing House in that period has increased from 1,000 millions to 7,575 millions, and the circulation of notes in proportion to the population has actually decreased (from £1 8s. 9d. a head to £1 os. 11d.). It is so obviously convenient to get rid of cumbrous currency that one may fairly anticipate the time when the business of the world will be even more largely transacted by means of cheques. "As commercial transactions multiply it is *impossible to keep valuable money* units in circulation, their place being always taken by valueless tokens of some kind."

The last and most serious of the disadvantages inevitable with a gold currency, he says, is *internationality*—the very quality which would generally be alleged as one of the chief merits of a medium of exchange. His argument is that in the competition for custom between rival manufacturing States the merchant who can sell "cheapest" will sell most, and that "cheapness" is nothing but the relation of rival commodities to the money units which determine their price; so that (he says) the nature of the money unit adopted by any country is of supreme importance in determining the relative commercial position of its manufacturers in all markets open to their sale. For instance, Viscount Hayashi is quoted (p. 11) as saying that money goes five times as far in Japan as in England. That is, the Japanese can buy as much for £1 sterling as we in England can buy for £5. Then it is argued that "the competition of foreign food-producers for gold—*i.e. for the British food-token*\*—is the reason for the great fall in wheat prices (p. 10), and that is, of course, disastrous for the British farmer"; but the question is whether the competition is made so much more severe, or, indeed, affected at all, by the fact of the foreign countries adopting the British gold standard. As a matter of fact, we know that silver-using countries, such as India,

\* This seems to be contradicted on p. 22, where Mr. Mayor says the German Bank would (naturally) prefer gold in bars.

have had a great deal to do with bringing about the fall of prices in this country quite irrespective of the adoption of a gold currency by certain continental nations, though their action, no doubt, increased the price of gold, as measured in commodities, for a good many years. Japan, a silver-using country, is a very good example of a dangerous commercial rival ; but as she advances in civilization (so-called), prices and the cost of labour will rise there also, and international prices will tend to equalize themselves, whatever the currency of the country may be. Major Phipson, indeed, contends that there is no remedy for the more advanced nation competing with those more backward, except "the elimination from its currency of the international factor" but even before 1870 an English sovereign was always freely negotiable abroad at its full intrinsic value, and it is difficult to understand how the fact that other nations have adopted a gold standard can have done more than slightly facilitate exchange. In attributing all the disasters that have undoubtedly befallen the English wheat farmer since 1870-1874 to this one cause, Major Phipson seems to have overlooked the revolution that followed the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and the enormous reduction in freights from all parts of the world that set in about that time, in consequence of which the English farmer has suddenly had to compete, at the same time, with the cheap labour of the East and the cheap land of the West. Nor does he seem to see that the natural remedy for the present state of affairs is simply *decentralization*, as exemplified in the Garden City. Once let the population go back to the land, so that each town may be in close touch with its own food-producers, and the English farmer will get the upper hand again. To say, as Major Phipson does on p. 93, that it is impossible to see *any limit* to the fall in prices seems positively absurd. Even the most "pauperized millions" cannot grow food for nothing, any more than ships can carry grain for nothing ; and, even in India, which has been brought so much nearer to us within the last thirty years,

the price of grain has already doubled, and the inevitable tendency of prices and the cost of labour is to rise to something approaching the general level. The real grievance of the British farmer is the system of fixed *money rents*, which are, as Major Phipson observes, nothing else than continually *falsified produce-contracts*. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that rents have fallen continually, more or less in proportion to the fall in the price of produce. To read some of Major Phipson's lamentations one might almost imagine that cheap food is no advantage at all. It is no doubt conceivable that one result of the cheapness of food in this country may be to turn it into a playground for America and the rising West; and even now it is often more profitable to turn land into deer-forests than wheat-fields. If this tendency continues, it may end in our being as comfortably prosperous as the Swiss, even if no part of our population are so outrageously rich as at present. It does not follow that the producing classes would be at all worse off, and they might very easily be much more comfortable than the labouring classes, at any rate, are under the present system.

J. P.

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#### RECONSTITUTION OF THE PROVINCES OF BENGAL AND ASSAM.

THE following is the text of the resolution of the Government, dated Simla, July 19, 1905 :

"In December, 1903, the Government of India in letters to several of the Local Governments, which were published in the Official Gazette, announced their desire to consider the redistribution of certain of the territories of the Eastern and North-Eastern Provinces of India, notably of Bengal and Assam. Their attention had been called to the matter by the constantly accumulating evidence of the excessive and intolerable burden imposed upon the Bengal Government by a charge too great for any one administration,

and of the consequent deterioration in the standards of Government, notably in portions of Eastern Bengal. Simultaneously the importance of rendering Assam a self-contained and independent administration with a service of its own, and of providing for its future commercial and industrial expansion, was impressed upon them. These considerations suggested a careful investigation of the circumstances and surroundings of both provinces, and resulted in the formulation of certain proposals for the readjustment of their territorial boundaries. The criticism which was invited, and which was freely and usefully bestowed upon these proposals, justified substantial alterations in the original plan, and led in the end to the abandonment of that portion of the scheme which contemplated the transfer of certain territories from Madras to Bengal, and of the greater part of Chutia Nagpur from Bengal to the Central Provinces. The Government of India were convinced by the arguments placed before them by the Local Governments concerned that in neither case would the transfer promote the end which they had in view. Reasons of administrative expediency, arising out of the peculiar linguistic and racial conditions and the geographical conformation of Ganjam and the Agency tracts of Vizagapatam, were opposed to the transfer of those areas from the Government of Madras. Commercial considerations were mainly responsible for the continued retention of the British districts of Chutia Nagpur under the Government of Bengal.

"2. Two changes only have been decided upon in the territories bordering upon Bengal and the Central Provinces. It was proposed by the Lieutenant-Governor, and accepted by the Chief Commissioner, that the five Native States of Jashpur, Sarguja, Udaipur, Korea, and Chang Bhakhar, at present attached to the Division of Chutia Nagpur, and forming a solid block of territory with the Hindi-speaking population on the west of the districts of Palamau and Ranchi, should be handed over from Bengal to the Central

Provinces, and this proposal has been accepted by the Governor-General in Council. Owing to their physical remoteness these States have not hitherto received as much attention as might be desired; and it is hoped that their administration will be improved, while the status of the Chiefs will be raised by their being placed under the Political Agent of Raipur, who is already invested with a similar political charge in the Central Provinces.

"3. Both the Local Governments similarly recommended, and the Government of India have agreed, that the Sambalpur District (with the exception of the Chandarpur-Padampur estate and the Phuljhar zamindari) and the five Uriya-speaking States of Patna, Kalahandi or Karond, Sonpur, Bamra, and Rairakhol should be transferred from the Central Provinces to the Orissa Division of Bengal. Linguistic considerations are the main reason for this transfer, which it is confidently believed will be beneficial to the interests of the people. It is in contemplation to protect the interests of the Chiefs affected by appointing a European Political Officer to take charge of the entire group of Uriya-speaking States.

"4. These proposals are, however, of minor importance compared with the principal changes to which the Secretary of State has given his sanction, and which involve the creation of a new administration of the first-class out of certain divisions of Bengal, together with the territories at present administered by the Chief Commissioner of Assam. In their original form these suggestions arose from a proposal which had already on a previous occasion been under the consideration of the Government of India, and had then only been postponed by them—namely, to incorporate the Chittagong Division with Assam. It was proposed in the letters of December, 1903, to include the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh also, for reasons which were then stated, and which it is not necessary now to repeat. The discussion which was elicited by these suggestions indicated to the Government of India that, large as were their

proposals, they were not large enough if satisfaction were to be given to the feelings of those who were alarmed at the possible deprivation of privileges which they had for long enjoyed, and to which they attached a not unnatural value. These feelings attracted the earnest attention of the Government of India; and in February, 1904, His Excellency the Viceroy, in a series of speeches delivered in reply to public addresses at Chittagong, Dacca, and Mymensingh, foreshadowed the willingness of Government to consider a wider scheme, involving the creation of a Lieutenant-Governorship with a Legislative Council and an independent revenue authority, and the transfer of so much territory as would be required to justify the institution of so highly organized and fully equipped an administration.

"5. From that date the efforts of Government were principally directed to a discussion of the areas that could most advantageously be assigned to the new province, and to an examination of the safeguards that were required to secure the legitimate interests of their inhabitants. A scheme was submitted by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal for the amalgamation with Assam of the Chittagong and Dacca divisions and the districts of Pabna, Bogra, and Rangpur. This proposal did not seem to the Government of India to be proportionate to the scope of the important administration which it was now contemplated to create, nor would it have given to Bengal, whose population would still have exceeded 59,000,000, the permanent relief that ought to ensue from an adequate reduction of its existing area and responsibilities. Accordingly, it was proposed to increase the transferred area by the districts of Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Malda, and the State of Cooch Behar. These additions were thought by the Government of India to be justified on the grounds that they would constitute a new province with a population of over 31,000,000, while leaving Bengal with a little more than 54,000,000; that they would provide a clearly defined western boundary corresponding with well-recognised characteristics, both

geographical, ethnological, social, and linguistic ; that they would concentrate in a single province the typical Muhammadan population of Bengal, for whom Dacca would furnish a natural capital ; that the whole of the tea industry (with the exception of the Darjeeling gardens), and the greater part of the jute tracts would thus be brought under a single Government, and the long-established divisional areas would thereby remain undisturbed.

“6. The enlarged scheme was cordially accepted by the Governments both of Bengal and Assam. The Lieutenant-Governor reported that he had discussed the proposal with the Members of the Board of Revenue and with his most senior officers, and had found that with scarcely an exception there was complete unanimity in accepting it. The Chief Commissioner of Assam attached great value to the future association under a single Government of the tea-growing areas supplied by free labour with those worked by indentured labour, and thought that the gradual substitution of natural for artificial methods of recruitment would be accelerated. He also proposed the creation of a new Commissionership out of the Surma Valley districts and Manipur, at present under his own direct control. This suggestion was accepted by the Government of India, and will raise the number of commissionerships in the new province to five.

“7. The effect of the proposals thus agreed upon, and now about to be introduced, will be as follows: A new province will be created, with the status of a Lieutenant-Governorship, consisting of the Chittagong, Dacca, and Rajshahi divisions of Bengal, the district of Malda, the State of Hill Tipperah, and the present Chief Commissionership of Assam. Darjeeling will remain with Bengal. In order to maintain associations, which are highly valued in both areas, the province will be entitled Eastern Bengal and Assam. Its capital will be at Dacca, with subsidiary headquarters at Chittagong. It will comprise an area of 106,540 square miles, and a population of 31,000,000, of

whom 18,000,000 are Muhammadans and 12,000,000 Hindus. It will possess a Legislative Council, and a Board of Revenue of two members, and the jurisdiction of the High Court of Calcutta is left undisturbed. The existing province of Bengal—diminished by the surrender of these large territories on the east, and of the five Hindi States of Chutia Nagpur, but increased by the acquisition of Sambalpur and the five Uriya States before mentioned—will consist of 141,580 square miles, with a population of 54,000,000, of whom 42,000,000 are Hindus and 9,000,000 Muhammadans. In short, the territories now composing Bengal and Assam will be divided into two compact and self-contained provinces, by far the largest constituents, of each of which will be homogeneous in character, and which will possess clearly-defined boundaries, and be equipped with the complete resources of an advanced administration.

“8. The Governor-General in Council is fully aware of the opposition which these proposals have encountered, and has no desire to undervalue the sentiments upon which it has been based. Ties of mutual association grow up so quickly, and become so closely interlaced, that territorial redistribution can rarely be accomplished except at the cost of a disruption, which is often painful, and generally unpopular. On the other hand, when old connections are severed new ones almost immediately take their place, growing with a rapidity that in a very short time is found to invest them with a sanctity scarcely inferior to that of the associations which they have superseded.

“9. The Government of India are encouraged by previous experience to hope that such will be the case in the present instance. They will be greatly disappointed if there are not found in the new province elements of cohesion which will speedily endow it with a stability and individuality of its own. In any case, the Government that is called upon to decide such cases must regard them from a wider standpoint than that of purely local, and in all probability transient, considerations. They are bound to keep in view



the interests of the Government and of the people as a whole. If they are convinced that owing to arrangements devised for a different state of affairs, and now obsolete, the administration suffers if they see one Government weighed down with a burden which it cannot properly discharge, and another Government shut out from the development that ought naturally to await it, they cannot permanently remain indifferent to the situation thus produced. Either a remedy must be sought, or the responsibility for a conscious neglect of duty is incurred.

" 10. Upon two conditions, however, the community has a claim to insist. The first is that the solution ultimately approved shall not be arrived at in haste, or until all available alternatives have been fully considered, and its superiority over them conclusively established. This procedure has been followed in the present case. It is now more than eighteen months since the first proposals of the Government of India were officially published. In the interval they have been the subject of wide-spread and searching criticism at the hands of those who were directly or indirectly concerned. Representations from an immense number of public bodies or gatherings have reached the Government. These have in every case been attentively examined; many of them have not been without effect upon the course adopted; and the very last charge that could with justice be brought against the Government would be one of undue speed in arriving at a final decision. In the course of this prolonged study of the case, the various suggestions that have at different times been put forward for the relief of Bengal have been exhaustively examined. The idea of creating a new Commissionership or Chief Commissionership out of portions of the province, the separation from Bengal of smaller areas than those ultimately selected, the transfer of sufficient territory to the Central Provinces to convert the latter administration into a Lieutenant-Governorship, the substitution of administration in Bengal by a Lieutenant-Governor and Council for

administration by a Lieutenant-Governor alone. All of these have been duly considered, and have not been rejected until they were found to contain flaws or drawbacks which were inconsistent with the essential aim. On the other hand, the scheme which was preferred to them has received the practically unanimous approval of the leading officials of the three administrations whom it directly affects, as well as the final sanction of the Secretary of State.

"11. The second condition above referred to is that, as far as possible, an attempt should be made to remove every well-grounded cause of complaint, and to satisfy every reasonable demand on the part of those who will be personally affected by the new arrangement. The Government of India have endeavoured throughout to act in accordance with this principle, and to it the majority of the modifications in the original plan are due. The grant to the new province of a Legislative Council and a Board of Revenue, and the retention of the jurisdiction of the High Court, are instances of this desire; and the Governor-General in Council can confidently state that there is no guarantee for the good government of the transferred populations which he has not been willing, if its merits were satisfactorily demonstrated, to adopt.

"12. The result is the creation of a new province, founded upon that which is the secret of all good administration—namely, the close contact, in so far as this is possible in areas of great size, of the governors with the governed. The welfare of the people will be more vigilantly safeguarded, and larger opportunities will open up before the educated classes, when they are the nucleus of a powerful and self-contained administration exclusively devoted to their interests, than when they have been either the appendage of an overgrown and overworked province, or the constituents of a relatively backward and arrested organization. The change may be expected to raise the administrative standards, and to revive no small portion

of the former prosperity of Eastern Bengal. It will communicate a much-desired impetus to the hitherto retarded development of Assam.

“13. The Governor-General in Council, in directing that the necessary measures shall now be taken to introduce the scheme, looks forward to the day as not far distant when not merely will the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam have amply vindicated its creation as an administrative reform of the first importance, but when it will have acquired a character and influence not inferior to those of any of the older Indian provinces, and will have attracted to itself the spontaneous and devoted loyalty of its sons.”

The following is the state of the figures for Bengal and Assam as they will stand when the above proposals are carried into execution. It will be observed that they relieve Bengal to the extent of 11,000,000 of people, and that they place Assam almost exactly upon the same level with the Central Provinces—namely, 17,000,000.

BENGAL: Present population - - - - 78,493,410

<i>Gains.</i>		<i>Losses.</i>	
Sambalpur (from Central Provinces) - - -	659,971	Chittagong Division and Hill Tippera (to Assam - - -	4,911,056
Feudatory States (from Central Provinces) -	948,420	Dacca and Mymensingh (to Assam) - -	6,564,590
Ganjam District (from Madras) - - -	1,689,142	Chutia Nagpur (to Central Provinces) - -	3,986,915
Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agency Tracts (from Madras) - -	1,172,102		
	<hr/> 4,469,635		<hr/> 15,462,561
Net loss to Bengal	10,992,926	Future population	67,500,484

ASSAM: Present population - - - - 6,126,343

<i>Gains.</i>	
Chittagong (from Bengal) - - -	4,911,056
Dacca and Mymensingh (from Bengal) - -	6,564,590
Net gain to Assam - - -	11,475,646
Future population of Assam - - -	17,601,989

## RUSSIA AND JAPAN: TREATY OF PEACE.

The following is reported in the press as the substance of the articles of the Treaty of Peace :

ARTICLE I. stipulates for the re-establishment of peace and friendship between the Sovereigns of the two Empires, and between the subjects of Russia and Japan respectively.

ARTICLE II.—His Majesty the Emperor of Russia recognises the preponderant interest from political, military, and economic points of view of Japan in the Empire of Korea, and stipulates that Russia will not oppose any measures for its government, protection, or control that Japan will deem necessary to take in Korea in conjunction with the Korean Government, but Russian subjects and Russian enterprises are to enjoy the same status as the subjects and enterprises of other countries.

ARTICLE III.—It is mutually agreed that the territory of Manchuria shall be simultaneously evacuated by both the Russian and Japanese troops, both countries being concerned in this evacuation, and their situations being absolutely identical. All rights acquired by private persons and companies shall remain intact.

ARTICLE IV.—The rights possessed by Russia in conformity with the lease to Russia of Port Arthur and Dalny, together with the lands and waters adjacent, shall pass over entirely to Japan, but the properties and rights of Russian subjects are to be safeguarded and respected.

ARTICLE V.—The Russian and Japanese Governments engage themselves, reciprocally, not to put any obstacles in the way of the general measures, which shall be alike for all nations, that China may take for the development of the commerce and industry of Manchuria.

ARTICLE VI.—The Manchurian Railway shall be operated jointly between the Russians and the Japanese at Kouang-tcheng-tse. The respective portions of the line shall be used only for commercial and industrial purposes. In view of Russia keeping her line with all the rights acquired

by her convention with China for the construction of the railway, Japan acquires the mines in connection with such section of the line which falls to her. The rights of private parties or private enterprises, however, are to be respected. Both parties to this Treaty remain absolutely free to undertake what they may deem fit on the expropriated ground.

ARTICLE VII.—The Russians and the Japanese engage to make a junction of the lines which they own at Kouang-tcheng-tse.

ARTICLE VIII.—It is agreed that the lines of the Manchurian Railway shall be worked with a view to ensuring commercial traffic between them without obstruction.

ARTICLE IX.—Russia cedes to Japan the southern part of Sakhalin Island as far north as the fiftieth degree of north latitude, together with the island depending thereon. The right of free navigation is assured in the Bays of La Pérouse and Tartary.

ARTICLE X. deals with the situation of Russian subjects in the southern part of Sakhalin, and stipulates that Russian colonists shall be free, and have the right to remain without changing their nationality. Japan, on the other hand, shall have the right to force Russian convicts to leave the territory ceded to her.

ARTICLE XI.—Russia shall make an agreement with Japan giving the Japanese subjects the right to fish in Russian territorial waters in the Seas of Japan, Okhotsk, and Behring.

ARTICLE XII.—The two high contracting parties engage to renew the Commercial Treaty existing between the two Governments before the war in all its vigour, with slight modifications of detail and the most-favoured-nation clause.

ARTICLE XIII.—The Russians and Japanese reciprocally engage to exchange prisoners of war, paying the real cost of the keep of the same, such cost to be supported by documents.

ARTICLE XIV.—This Treaty shall be drawn up in two languages, French and English, the French text being evidence for the Russians, and the English for the Japanese. In case of difficulty in interpretation the French document will be decisive.

ARTICLE XV.—The ratification of this Treaty shall be signed by the Sovereigns of the two States within fifty days after the signature of the Treaty. The French and American Embassies shall be the intermediaries between the Japanese and Russian Governments, and will announce by telegraph the ratification of the Treaty.

#### ADDITIONAL ARTICLES.

The following two additional articles have been agreed to :

1. The evacuation of Manchuria by both armies shall be complete within eighteen months from the signing of the Treaty, beginning with the retirement of the troops of the first line. At the expiration of eighteen months the two parties will only be able to leave as railway guards fifteen soldiers to every kilometre of the line.

2. The boundary which limits the parts owned respectively by Russia and Japan in Sakhalin shall be definitively marked off on the spot by a Special Boundary Commission.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

EDWARD ARNOLD ; 41 AND 43, MADDOX STREET, BOND STREET, LONDON, W., 1905.

I. *The Unveiling of Lhasa*, by EDMUND CANDLER, author of "A Vagabond in Asia." With illustrations and map. Second impression. The story of the recent mission to Lhasa is full of interest on many grounds. The political object of the expedition was important, and the result was most satisfactory to those engaged in it, as well as to those who guide and administer Indian affairs. The author witnessed all the stirring events and incidents of the campaign, except (owing to the wounds he had received) the bombardment and relief of Gyantse, which is written by Mr. Henry Newman, Reuter's correspondent, and an eyewitness. The greater portion of this interesting narrative was written on the spot, giving life and vividness to all the scenery and events that took place. There are upwards of fifty illustrations of places, persons, camps, forts, and other objects of interest, and a distinct and well-executed map, marking the various stages of the onward march to Lhasa. The excellent type adds a charm to the volume. Mr. Candler expresses the opinion that the permanence of the terms of settlement or "the new conditions in Tibet does not depend on China. If the Tibetans think they are still able to flout us they will do so, and one pretext will serve as well as another. But if they have learnt that our displeasure is dangerous, they will take care not to provoke it again."

"The success or failure of the recent expedition depends on the impression we have left on the Tibetans. If that impression is to be lasting, we must see that our interests are well guarded in Lhasa, or in a few months we may lose the ground we gained, with what cost and danger to our-

selves only those who took part in the expedition can understand."

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CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS; AVE MARIA LANE, E.C.

2. *Europe and the Far East*, by SIR ROBERT K. DOUGLAS, Professor of Chinese at King's College, London, etc. ("Cambridge Historical Series," pp. 450, 7s. 6d.). This handy volume enables the general reader and the mercantile man, who may be too absorbed in their own affairs to specialize their reading, to take a rapid survey of the complicated events which have led up to the present grave situation in the Far East. There is no diving into remote history, no discussion of obscure religious problems or racial theories; the learned professor simply tells the public in plain, straightforward language the leading features of our European relations with China, Japan, Corea, Annam, and Siam, and in such a way that the most casual searcher for truth may, in the course of two or three evenings' quiet reading, possess himself, without great mental effort, of the salient and essential facts. It is perhaps to be regretted that, whilst he was about it, Professor Douglas did not round off his subject by taking in Manila, too, with a side glance, perhaps, at Loochoo and Formosa; for the Philippines are at least as well known to Europe as Annam, and have played an international part of equal if not greater importance. But we must be grateful for such mercies as are vouchsafed to us, and thank both the author and the general editor for this particular work, as well as for the promised series, "intended for the use of all persons anxious to understand the nature of existing political conditions . . . from about the end of the fifteenth century down to the present time."

It is now close upon forty years since Sir Robert Douglas had his short experience in the British consular service; the present reviewer, when in proud charge as a youngster of the humble vice-consulate of Taku thirty-three years ago, had the advantage of scanning the present



professor's local work within that limited range, as a predecessor, also juvenile. It is therefore scarcely a matter for surprise that, after so long an interval of armchair study, the author should have grown a trifle out of touch with living and seething Chinese affairs. For instance, upon page 2 : "A duty was first levied on imported goods in 990 B.C. During the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-907) a regular market was opened at Canton"; and we are then carried with a second jump up straightway to the British doings of 1840. Skips of a thousand years apiece are rather too summary a method of dealing with the important question of early trade, to say the least of it. In A.D. 284 we are told (page 4) that the Roman Emperor Carus despatched a mission to the Chinese Court. It is true that the native historians do record a "tribute" visit in that year from what is usually presumed to be some part of the Roman Empire; but the "Emperor Carus" (who in any case died in 282) is apparently a pure gloss on the part of Professor Douglas. It is true that Gibbon asserts (without giving his authority) that Chinese envoys were present at Aurelian's triumph (Aurelian died in 275), but the so-called "envoys," if envoys of any kind were there, most probably consisted of speculative merchants on both sides. And with regard to the seventh century mission from Byzantium to "the chêng-kwan," why, *chêng-kwan* was merely the reign-date (627-647), and can in no possible sense be qualified as "the." So with the "Mili-i-ling Kais-a" mission of 1081, this should be Mieh-li-ling Kai-sa (written by one author Mieh-li-sha)—i.e., most probably the Seljuk ruler, Malek Shah, of Asia Minor (1072-1092).

If we turn to more modern affairs, we find (p. 215) that the Abbé Huc was murdered in 1875, and M. Boquette was sent to make inquiry. The real facts are that Abbé Huc died at Paris in 1860; M. Jean Huc was murdered in 1873, and M. Roquette was sent to make inquiry. Careless slips of this kind are by no means rare in Professor Douglas's book; for instance, Count Pontiatine

always for Poutiatine, Mr. Macauley always for Macaulay, Sir Nicholas O'Connor for O'Conor; the Annamese Emperors Thien-tri and Chien-tong always for Thieu-tri and Chieu-tong, Mr. Deting for Mr. Detring, etc. In the preface we are told that the use of the hyphen in Chinese names is often misleading; but Professor Douglas, notwithstanding, throughout his book indulges in the wildest irregularity; the names of provinces, towns, emperors, and ordinary individuals are not only as often spelt with hyphens as without, but we are treated to several varieties of the same name on one page: thus, Weihaiwei and Wei-hai-wei; Peitâng, Pehtang, and Pei-t'ang. The word *Tzu*, *tz'ü*, or *tsü* is a particular *bête-noire* of the London professor; for, besides irregularity in diacritical marks, the aspirate is as often as not omitted, or inserted wrongly. In a popular work, destined in the main to illuminate the darkness of those who are not specialists, these hyphens, marks, and aspirates are, of course, really of secondary importance, and might well be omitted altogether; but it is quite absurd to make use of them unless they be applied systematically and correctly. The chapter on the "Revolution in Japan," reprinted from the *Quarterly Review*, stands in this respect in great contrast with Professor's Douglas's own original chapter on the "Opening of Japan," which bristles with irregular vowels and vowel marks, not to mention such Japanese anomalies as *Shimbara* and *Joi-i*.

In signaling these few superficial defects (the tale of which is by no means even half completed above), the present writer by no means wishes to *dénigrer* (as the French say) the excellent compilatory work of Professor Douglas, not to speak of the enterprising conception of the general editor, Dr. G. W. Prothero; but a work professedly emanating from a great English University should certainly be more perfect in technique; and, moreover, the punctuation, amongst other things, is by no means up to first-class English standard. The word "instigate" is twice used in the sense of "suggest," without any hint of there being

evil or doubtful motive, and this is scarcely sanctioned by good literary usage; whilst the obsolete form "forgo" appears for "forego" (p. 105). Probably there were difficulties in the way of proof-reading, which may minimize the responsibilities of both author and editor; but however that may be, Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole's recent work upon "Sir Harry Parkes in China" shows up Oxford very favourably in comparison with Cambridge, so far as press efficiency is concerned.

Professor Douglas has always, more especially in his letters to the *Times*, been rather hard upon the unfortunate Empress-Dowager, who is by no means a paragon of virtue, but who is perhaps no worse than many a royal head in Europe during the past century or two. He seems, like the pot-boy in "Pickwick," to delight in making the Christian flesh creep by hinting at the murders and poisonings the venerable lady delights to commit; accordingly the old hints are mysteriously suggested here once more, and we are led to infer that the Emperor T'ung-chi (her own son), his wife, and the Marquess Tsêng, were all more or less victims of her dark intrigues, whilst the present Emperor (her adopted son) *would* have been sacrificed if the Dowager had dared it. The Dowager-Empress cannot in the natural history of things live very long now, but when she does "ascend upon the phoenix wing," she need not blush over-much to be introduced to the spirits of Catherine II., Isabella II., Louis XV., George IV., or yet other select specimens of her Western cousins.—E. H. PARKER.

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CASELL AND CO., LIMITED; LONDON, PARIS, NEW  
YORK, MELBOURNE, 1905.

3. *Britain's Destiny: Growth or Decay?* being outlines of "The Redemption of Labour," and "The Science of Civilization," by the late CECIL BALFOUR PHIPSON; edited by MARK B. F. MAJOR. Mr. Major, with great ability, has given us the "outlines" of two of the greatest works

which have been written on "Economics" since the days of Adam Smith. The object of the present "outline" is to exhibit, in as concise a form as possible—a no easy task—the contents of the two volumes we have indicated, with the view of attracting attention to those who are studying the important question of "Economics" in its various phases. Anyone, who has mastered the "outlines" will be anxious to give a more extensive and mature study of the whole subject, so ably and exhaustively described by the late Major C. B. Phipson, who devoted two decades in the production of his works. Whether the principles laid down by Major Phipson are accepted or not by the present professors of "Economics" in our Colleges and Universities, it is of great importance that Major Phipson's principles should be carefully examined and discussed in their respective aspects. Mr. Major states truly that Major Phipson wrote in advance of the present age; but "he lived to see Mr. Chamberlain, some two years ago, boldly place himself at the head of the party which is agitating for an alteration in our fiscal system, and it may well have seemed to Major Phipson that the time had arrived when at last the nation would be prepared to carefully consider the conclusions so closely affecting their welfare, at which he had arrived after his long years of earnest thought and laborious study."

The work before us gives a careful and correct analysis of the subjects discussed by Major Phipson—on the British system, as affecting food-producers, wage-earners, and land-owners; as affecting merchants in their foreign trade; the further effects on merchants and their agents (shopkeepers); the remedy; and a contrast of the Hebrew law with the Roman law, the latter as adverse to civilization, the former as favourable to progress. The answer is then given to the question, What is to be Britain's destiny?

We congratulate Mr. Major on the admirable way, in so limited a space, in indicating the various subjects and arguments which are contained in Major Phipson's invaluable volumes.

CLARENDON PRESS ; OXFORD, 1905.

4. *The Far East*, by ARCHIBALD LITTLE, author of "Through the Yangtse Gorges," "Mount Omi and Beyond," etc. Mr. Little has given us in the present volume an encyclopædia of information of all kinds useful for the traveller, visitor, explorer, and merchant. This information has been derived from personal investigation and intimate acquaintance with the regions embraced under the title of the "Far East." The work has been written in the intervals of business, which necessitated him to travel in China and the neighbouring countries. The first of his journeys was in 1860, at the time when Shanghai was invested by the Taipings—from Mingpo up the Tsientang of Kingtehchen down the Poyang Lake to Kiukiang—the whole country traversed being the scene of the great struggle then going on between the forces of Hung-hsueh and the Imperialists. From his knowledge of the language he was enabled to accomplish the long journey in safety.

Under the term "The Far East," which the volume covers, comprises the continental countries of China, with its outlying dependencies, Siam and Indo-China, together with the long string of islands in the Pacific, which make up the Empire of Japan. Mr. Little, in a very ingenious way, contrasts the areas of these countries by maps, superimposing countries with which the "Far East" are compared with those of Europe. There are also numerous illustrations, well executed, and beautifully coloured maps, exhibiting the areas, the rivers, the population, orthography, geology, meteorology, and other particulars.

The author's description of Japan may be interesting at the present time : "While the British islands invited access from the continent by their navigable rivers and fertile uplands, the islands of Japan rose steeply from the sea in forest-clad mountains, separated by a few narrow cultivable deltas formed at the mouths of unnavigable torrents, which,

though now controlled by lofty embankments, still at times break loose, and devastate the surrounding plains. In their total area of 121,000 square miles, the British Isles come after Japan with 147,000 (excluding Formosa); but while the former are practically cultivated throughout, in Japan barely one-eighth of the area is cultivated. With the exception of the small river deltas, the whole country consists of mountains, amongst which tillage is confined to narrow valleys and small hollows, and to a few larger elevated valley basins, where a rich soil, mainly of volcanic origin, has collected. Large areas of this hilly region, outside the volcanic peaks and the chains of hills belonging to the older schist mountains, are composed of undulating plateau of clay and sand, the insoluble products of the disintegration of a much-weathered granite rock, frequently overlaid with diluvial gravel. These support light woods of fine and coarse innutritious grasses, but little or no pasture-land, the succulent herbage of Europe and of North China and Mongolia in the same latitude being entirely wanting. The 40,000,000 population of the fertile British islands is largely dependent upon imported food; the equally large population of Japan, up to the time of the opening of the country to foreign trade in 1854, were ever dependent on the crops they could themselves produce; hence an intensive cultivation of every available spot of arable land, chiefly with rice, the staple food of the people, and most prolific of cereals, and of which the hot summer sun and abundant rainfall enabled, in the south, two crops to be produced in the year; hence, also, the necessarily extraordinary thrift of the people, a generally insufficient diet, and probably their small stature. To-day the population totals 50,000,000, but the establishment of manufactures, and a foreign trade increasing by leaps and bounds, as in Britain, renders possible the import of unlimited food-supplies from abroad, and so more wholesome conditions now rule. Of subsidiary products of the sub-tropical zone Japan yields an endless list, while the wealth and variety of the Japanese

flora is proverbial. From South Cape in Formosa to the northernmost of the Kuriles, off Cape Lopatka in Kamtschatka, the Japanese islands reach, in a direction south-west and north-east, through  $31^{\circ}$  of latitude ( $21^{\circ}$  to  $51^{\circ}$  N.), and from the Pescadores to the outer most Kuriles,  $36^{\circ}$  of longitude ( $119^{\circ}$  to  $136^{\circ}$  E.); while the British Isles, from Land's End to the Shetlands, cover  $11^{\circ}$  of latitude only ( $50^{\circ}$  to  $61^{\circ}$  N.), and from Valentia to Yarmouth  $12^{\circ}$  of longitude ( $10^{\circ} 50' W.$  to  $1^{\circ} 50' E.$ ). The relative great compactness of homogeneity of the British domain is thus strikingly demonstrated. If we take York in latitude  $54^{\circ}$  as the centre of the British system, and Yokohama in latitude  $35^{\circ}$  as the centre of the Japanese, we find an average difference of nearly  $20^{\circ}$  of latitude in favour of the latter. But while the summers are hotter and moister, the winters are longer and colder than in the same latitude in Europe; and although Japan is free from the greater extremes of the "continental" climate of the mainland adjoining, yet it partakes largely of the character of the latter, and a peculiarly varied flora, as Professor Rein points out, is the result. Yokohama is the same latitude as Malta, but the period of development for wheat is in Japan two months longer than in Malta, "because there a pause of several months occurs, while in Malta even the coldest day of  $10^{\circ}$  C. is still warm enough to stimulate growth. Sugar, which flourishes as far north as latitude  $30^{\circ}$  in China (Szechuan), can only be grown in the extreme south. On the other hand, the Japanese can now obtain an inexhaustible supply of this staple from their latest acquisition, Formosa, as they have done formerly from the Liuchius."

Mr. Little refers to the system of feudalism, which had long existed in Japan, and considers that that system came to an end by the opening up of the country to foreign influences, inaugurated by Commodore Perry's tactful visit to Shimoda in 1854. After discussing the origin of the religious tenets of the Japanese, he concludes his invaluable work as follows:

"In any case, the extraordinary contrast we find to-day between the Chinese and Japanese, both branches of one family, affords a most interesting subject of study, and a theme for endless prophecies. Indeed, all the various peoples contained in the region known as the 'Far East,' that we have here attempted to depict, all of the same stock, and all deriving their civilization from a common source, deserve an exhaustive description where we have only attempted an impressionist sketch. The time will come when the Far East will be thought worthy of the same historical research that savants have devoted to the countries bordering the Mediterranean and the 'Near East,' the site of our own intellectual ancestry; but the language difficulty remains an obstacle, never to be completely overcome. To such an exhaustive treatment in the time coming the present work may perhaps serve as a modest introduction"—we should say, an invaluable one.

5. *The Masai, their Language and Folklore*, by A. C. HOLLIS, with Introduction by SIR CHARLES ELIOT, 1905. The author of this important and interesting volume occupies the position of Chief Secretary to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate, and is an eminent anthropologist. He has evinced by this work that he has missed no opportunity in studying and conversing daily with the natives, and hence his statements and information on the large and various fields of observation can be thoroughly relied upon. "The Masai race is divided into two sections, the one entirely pastoral, and the other partially agricultural. The pastoral Masai call themselves Il-Maassæ, whilst their brethren are known as L-Oikop, or Il-Lumbwa. They are further divided genealogically into clans and families, and geographically into districts and sub-districts." Sir Charles Eliot states that at present "they inhabit the inland districts of British and German East Africa, from the equator to about 60° 5' N." "In East Africa the Masai are clearly distinguished by their language, customs, and appearance from the Bantu races (although the latter often



imitate them, and have received a certain portion of Masai blood), and equally clearly related to the Suk-Turkana and Nandi-Lumbwa."

Referring to their language, the author, by his careful and minute researches, "has, for the first time, made the grammatical system of the language coherent and clear," and, in the opinion of Sir Charles Eliot, the book "will appeal chiefly to the scientific world, and, perhaps, with the exception of Sir Harry Johnston and Kraft's works, is the most valuable contribution which has yet been made to the anthropology and philology of the British possessions in East Africa." Also, in his exhaustive and admirable introduction, he concludes as follows (which is a sufficient recommendation to the work): "I agree with the opinion indicated by Mr. Hollis in the last paragraph of his preface, that the only hope of the Masai is that, under intelligent guidance, they may gradually settle down and adopt a certain measure of civilization. Any plan of leaving them to themselves, with their old military and social organization untouched, seems to me fraught with grave danger for the prosperity of the tribe, as well as for the public peace. But whatever their future may be, I am sure that the author of this book, which I now commend to the attention of officials, as well as men of science, has, by putting within the reach of all a knowledge of the language and the customs of the Masai, done much to facilitate a settlement of all questions which may arise between them and our Administration."

The work possesses also excellent illustrations of the people, their manners and customs, a well-executed map illustrating the various provinces, in accordance with their language and folklore, and a copious index.

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ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND Co, LIMITED; LONDON, 1905.

6. *The Japanese Spirit*, by OKAKURA-YOSHISABURO. To the lover of Japanese literary art this book will prove an

immeasurable delight, while all who have studied Japan by means of the works of earlier authors will find much information confirmed and expanded within the volume.

Mr. Okakura-Yoshisaburo, like his brother, Professor K. Okakura, has acquainted himself with much of our own literature, and has been filled with admiration at the analogy of thought existent between the poets of the East and the West.

"The Japanese Spirit" leads us gently step by step through the shadowy regions of mysticism and symbolic influences, and allows a gleam of light occasionally to penetrate our understanding of a nation which has been upheld by a mighty creed of unwritten tenets—a creed which finds but little expression save in the joy of the utter forgetfulness of gloom and dissolution; for the author remarks: "Until death stares us right in the face, we do not care to be religious in the ordinary sense of the term. True, we say and think we believe in death, but all the while this so-called death is nothing else than a new life in this present world of ours led in a supernatural way." As we inhale the perfume of sweet blossoms and the resinous fragrance from autumn's vanishing glories, so the Japanese draw from all their surroundings a subtle religious symbolism, which finds no adequate language to express its potentiality—a symbolism that can be conveyed to the meanest and most untutored mortals in a wordless beauty that influences every thought and action of their lives.

Pages relative to religion, poetry, and the ancient ceremony of *Cha-no-e*, will be helpful to those still searching for a better understanding of the "unknowable" Japanese.—S.

7. *Following the Sun-Flag. A Vain Pursuit through Manchuria*, by JOHN FOX, JUNR. The writer, desirous of visiting Japan and of witnessing the fighting between the Japanese and Russians, tells his experience in a very amusing and humorous style. He says: "Not being a military expert, my purpose was simply to see under the

(sun-flag of Japan) the brown little 'gun-man'—as he calls himself in his own tongue—in camp and on the march, in trench and in open field, in assault and in retreat; to tell tales of his heroism, chivalry, devotion, sacrifice, incomparable patriotism; to see him fighting, wounded, and, since such things in war must be, dying, dead. After seven months my spoils of war were post-mortem battlefields, wounded convalescents in hospitals, deserted trenches, a few guns, and one Russian prisoner in a red shirt." The chief interest and complacency of the book is in the free and easy style by which he gives sidelights into the examples of patriotism, sacrifices of the people of all ranks, and conditions of men and women in assisting the soldiers who went to the front, as well as into the habits and customs of the domestic circles of the Japanese and their amusements. Referring to a dinner-party, "a Japanese lady apologized profusely for being late at dinner. She had been to the station to see her son off for the front, where already were three of her sons. Said another straightway: 'How fortunate to be able to give four sons to Japan!' On every gateway is posted a red slab where a man has gone to the war, marked, 'gone to the front,' to be supplanted with a black one—'Bravery for ever' should he be brought home dead." In another example, the little maid who unpacked his bag for him said: "You are going to Korea?" "Yes, I am going to Korea." "I want to go to Korea," said the maid; "but they won't let girls go." "Why do you want to go to Korea?" said the writer. And "for the first time I saw Japanese eyes flash, and her answer came like the crack of a whip—'to fight!'"

Our space does not permit us to make further quotations from the author's entertaining pages. He concludes by saying: "All my life Japan had been one of the two countries on earth I most wanted to see. No more enthusiastic pro-Japanese ever put foot on the shore of that little island than I was when I swung into Yokohama harbour." And "if the arch on which a civilization rests

be character, the keystone of that arch, I suppose, must be honesty—simple honesty.”

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JOHN LONG, 13 AND 14, NORRIS STREET, HAYMARKET,  
LONDON, S.W.

8. *Glimpses of the Ages; or, the "Superior" and "Inferior" Races, so-called, discussed in the Light of Science and History*, by THEOPHILUS E. SAMUEL SCHOLLES, M.D., etc. This is a very interesting, laborious, and learned work, and its purpose is to elucidate what is, and long has been, a bone of contention amongst anatomists and naturalists as to the whole of mankind having a common or monogenetic birth on the one hand, or a plural or polygenetic on the other. Two different classes or schools are mentioned by the author representing different sides—one said to be showing as its characteristics breadth, candour, and magnanimity, to which the names of Blumenbach, Prichard, Darwin, Herbert Spencer, and Reich are given; and the other as its characteristics narrowness, concealment, and selfishness, to which are affixed the names of Heeren, Vogt, Nott and Gliddon, Buckle and Brinton.

The human race is divided into the more advanced and the less advanced—the more advanced represented by the white race, the less advanced by the coloured races. These different races were widely separated, and had little intercourse with each other till Alexander the Great conquered Asia; Rome afterwards bringing the whole civilized world under its power, and later the Crusades effected to some extent the same object.

The inferiority of the coloured races is recognised as an established fact by the generality of mankind, and the cranium has been brought forward to prove that the black and white races are quite distinct from the relative smallness of the skull of the former, conjoined with other differences in other bones.

The colour of the skin, hair, and eye again divide man-

kind into three groups—the melanous (black), the leucous (white), and the xanthous (yellow); the first comprising the largest of the human family; next the Albinos, the white or leucous variety. These are scattered all over the world, and have white hair, red, tender eyes, and very white skins, and are numerically not in large numbers. The Xanthous includes people with light brown, auburn, yellow, or red hair—this variety exists in the other two varieties. These three colours are manifest in the different races of mankind, though the term Albino is unfortunately made synonymous with the white or leucous order, yet the Albino proper exists in all the different races showing an unnatural whiteness of skin and hair and redness of eyes, etc., and may even be seen in the inferior creation from the earwig to the elephant: all different species, but the same in colour.

The skulls of different nations are examined and their capacity is tested by measurements external and internal. Various sizes are given—the average being 85 cubic inches. The short heads are named Brachycephalic, the long heads Dolichocephalic, and the medium Mesaticephalic, representing respectively Turks, etc., negroes, etc., and Germans, etc. If the face projects too much it is indicative of bad form; the European, being the least forward, is labelled as Orthognathous, the negro Mesognathous, and the Australian, Prognathous, being the lowest in the group.

The quality of beauty amongst the different races is touched upon, and each nation or tribe has its own criteria, generally without reference to the natural harmony of the facial organs or colouring of each.

Darwin is quoted to prove the close similarity between the tissues and blood of man and of the lower animals, both in minute structure and in composition and is shown more plainly than does comparison under the microscope. The cæcum is a branch or diverticulum of the intestinal canal ending in a cul-de-sac, and is extremely long in many of the lower vegetable-feeding animals, yet in the kangaroo it is

bereft of an appendix, and so escapes one of the most dangerous diseases of modern times.

We are glad to notice that the author disapproves of Darwin's and Keane's affinity with the lower animals, or from "a whole Anthropous group," rather than from "a single human pair," the differences outweighing the resemblance of a Simian descent, thus demolishing the theory of evolution—that conscience is a rule made by a community for its government, that virtue is the product of intellectual growth, and that belief in a Supreme Being is born with us.

The classification of the races of the human species show their internal organism and development exactly alike, giving rise to the central nervous system—the connective tissues and the epithelial, all spreading their separate structure and functions to particular parts of the body.

The three great progenitors of the human race are now classified under Professor Keane's three divisions: (1) The Ethiopic or Hamitic group; (2) the Mongolian or Semitic division; and (3) the Caucasian group.

These three groups are developed as to their structure on similar and parallel lines, commencing with the cell and ending with a homogeneous organism, alike in all particulars. Evolution restricts itself to animal life principally, and confesses itself unable to account for the origin of life or the mental powers, and forgets that all the races have a special name for the Supreme Being, thus pointing rather to a special creation than to evolution. Moreover, all the three varieties of heads and of colour are found in the three classes.

The ancient Egyptians—are they of Negro descent? is the question put in Chapter XX. Many authorities are cited for and against, and the conclusion is come to that they were of Hamitic origin from three points of view—the lingual, the physical, and the historical. According to the author, the Negro may be distinguished from the other races by certain definite characteristics—hair black and curly, nose short and full, rounded or flat, lips full rather

than thin, complexion full or burnished black, to the light brown or yellow or tawny hue. All people bearing these features should be regarded as members of the Negro variety of mankind, and those persons approximating to this standard may be classed as Negroids. One difficulty with regard to Egypt is its situation in the ancient world, easily accessible to the three continents, and many people from each settling there, giving the country quite a cosmopolitan character. Yet it may be granted that the autochthonoi were entirely of the Hamitic race.

In Chapter XXIII. an historical account is given of "Africa as seen in the Past," and shows the ancient Egyptians were the most advanced people of their time, both in government, extent of country, populousness, and advancement of the fine arts; and the next chapter is headed "Africa as seen in the Present," and the great Mandigo people are selected as a fair sample of the Negro under nature and Mohammedan culture. They inhabit Senegambia, north of Sierra Leone, with other tribes. They are tall in stature, have slender, athletic forms, black complexion, hair crisp and curly, eyes small and twinkling, forehead broad and slanting, lips moderately full, nose slightly depressed. They are gentle in their intercourse, cheerful in friendship, attentive to the sick, and hospitable, etc. They have fairly-built houses; they are the most industrious people of the Soudan. Fruits of many sorts are cultivated; they have cattle, sheep, etc., use the bow in hunting, spin cotton and dye it with indigo, smelt iron, etc. From the description these people appear quite civilized. In central Soudan Bishop Tugwell spent about twelve months, and gives an account of the country. He says: "Many of the conditions there are quite different from anything I have seen in other parts of Africa. The people have an organized system of cleansing the town, all refuse being collected daily, carried off by donkeys, and put on farms as manure. The greater part of the town is well kept. There exists a form of irrigation for growing rice,

onions, tobacco, and here, for the first time in Africa, I saw entire farms surrounded with hedges. Both in Kano and Zaria the people are not ignorant of affairs of the outer world. All through Housaland they are quick and intelligent, and possess great possibilities under British rule. With the exception of the ruling Falanis, who number perhaps about 5 per cent. of the population, they welcome British civilization and methods. There exists a definite system of education with schools in every town, and many of the houses are well built."

As to the United States, between 10 and 11 million Hamites are said to live there, and for two and a half centuries are said to have inhabited that country. A very interesting account is given of them during the forty years of their emancipation, and it is worth while to read the account of Dr. Scholes' history of this period, as the imagination can scarcely understand the great progress they have made in civilization, education, theology, medicine, dentistry, and in the mechanical arts. The history of their progress is too long to give a fair account of their attainments, and Dr. Scholes' book alone can show a fair and true estimate of their advancement. However, it may be useful to mention the four great leaders of the Negro Race—viz., Mr. Booker T. Washington, the Hon. Frederick Douglass, Dr. E. W. Blyden, and Toussaint L'Overture. A short history of each is given of a most interesting character.

Other chapters follow—To what is Civilization primarily due? Civilization among the Races. The two types of Civilization. Causes of Civilization. Coloured Labour. Modern Civilization and its Future.

To conclude, the brain is the chief organ of man by which it is alone possible to gauge his powers, whether he be black or white, African or European. Cuvier may have a brain weighing 63 ounces and Byron so small a head that it may be drowned in an ordinary-sized hat, yet each from his mental output may be classed as in his day first in his



individual work without reference to Shem, Ham, and Japheth.—GEORGE BROWN, M.D.

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THE MACMILLAN COMPANY; LONDON AND NEW YORK.

9. *China in Law and Commerce*, by T. R. JERNIGAN. Mr. Jernigan is evidently a very able and energetic man, and, so far as he has been able to get facts first-hand for himself, whether from intelligent Chinese of his acquaintance, or from personal observation and general experience, he is a very excellent authority. But it is painfully manifest, throughout the book, that he neither understands the Chinese language, nor has any sound working acquaintance with the literature and history of the country. In the first chapter on "Physical Features and Origins" he has fallen under the fascinating spell of Mr. T. W. Kingsmill, whose eccentric theories upon the "Chows," the "Kara-nirus," the "Sanskrit origin of Confucius' Odes," etc., have for a generation afforded amusement to all competent sinologists. In Chinese Mr. Kingsmill is at best but a dilettante. His proper scientific sphere is believed to be that of geology; yet even here he seems to be thought a bit of a crank, for in the *Saturday Review* of August 19, 1905, he informs the public that the London Geological Society declined in 1897, and again this year, to publish certain papers of his touching a mysterious new North Pole of his own discovery, and a "Miocene Equator." So in Chinese his "Pareaeen peoples," "Arimaspians," and "Ushwars," are antediluvian or ancient monsters of his own fecund imagination, as also his "Aryan men," corruptedly "pronounced *Lai-man*"; his Mongols derived from the Geougen Tartar Mukula (*sic*) "pronounced as Mughul"; his Yarkand and Kashgar, which were totally unknown to Chang K'ien; his "King of Ceylon," who sent "water buffaloes" in A.D. 97, etc. In short, this chapter is largely arrant twaddle, and, even where fairly sound, careless and inaccurate.

The second chapter, on "Government," seems to be largely a second-hand compilation from Mayers and Williams; on the whole, it may pass muster, but it is dry and "unconvincing." "The Emperor Hwang Li of China" (p. 55) is an absurd jumble of ideas, into which none but a scissors-and-paste man could possibly fall. Being an American attorney-at-law himself, Mr. Jernigan is on surer ground with the third chapter, on "Law"; but even here he would have found later additions and editions of Chinese Law in the *China Review* for 1879-1883, where Mr. G. Jamieson, whom he quotes so often, gives all the recent amendments upon Staunton's translation. The "Li Kwei of about twenty centuries ago" (p. 71) should be "the Marquis Wên of the State of Wei, aided by his minister Li K'wei, B.C. 427." The next chapter, on "Family Law," is not bad, but there were two other critical works on this subject published almost at the same time as P. von Moellendorff's treatise of 1877, from which last alone Mr. Jernigan quotes. The fifth chapter, on "Tenure and Transfer of Property," is decidedly good, for here the learned Père, Peter Hoang, comes in to keep the author straight. The chapter on "Taxation" is also good, but Edkins (if correctly quoted, p. 158) is no good authority if he says that only 15,833,333 acres were on the land-tax record in 1650, and 17,913,432 in 1810. The original accounts of the Board show over 2,900,000 *k'ing* in 1650, and over 8,900,000 in 1734 (not to speak of 1810), and one *k'ing* is about sixteen acres! The chapter on "Courts" is also very creditable, but (p. 182) the mysterious "Si-tung of A.D. 927," quoted from Edkins as a legal luminary, seems to be quite an imaginary personage, for no such event or historical person is anywhere mentioned in that year; and, in any case, the "Emperor" in question was only a Turk, paying tribute to the Kitan Tartars, ruling ephemerally over a mere fraction of Central China. The chapter on "Extra Territoriality" is excellent, and well up-to-date; that on "Guilds" is also very praiseworthy; but Mr.

Jernigan should have stated his obligations to the late Dr. Macgowan, from whom he quotes wholesale. Chapter X., on "Business Customs," shows the pushing and keen-eyed American observer at his best; notably good are his sensible remarks (p. 261) about the need of an exhibition hall, the supineness of foreign "ten-per-centers," the need of studying Chinese, the duties of compradores and shroffs, and so on. The words *fostook* and *gombeen*, which Mr. Jernigan frequently uses as though known to everyone, have never been once heard or read by the present critic during a twenty-seven years' residence in China. The alleged massacre of Portuguese, moreover, in 1545 is an event totally unknown to the Portuguese themselves. The chapter on "Banks" is perhaps the best, most trustworthy, and most original of all, and it has for a long time been badly wanted. Mr. Wong Kai-kah (who, judged by the spelling, must be a Ningpo man) is entitled to our best thanks for his luminous *exposé*. In the next chapter, on "Weights, Measures, and Currency," the fantastic hand of Mr. Kingsmill seems to peep out again in the connection of *pi* (cloth for barter) with *pretium* and *πᾶσις*, and that of *kin* with Sanskrit *hrikus*, Greek *χαλκός*, Gothic *gulth*, English "gold," etc. On page 298 the *cash* (*ts'ien*), or 1000 of a dollar, is confused with a *mace* (*ts'ien*), or 10 of a tael; and the whole "history of the cash" is thus distorted. The chapter on "Land Transit" is disfigured by more of Mr. Kingsmill's mad-cap road "identifications"; but, on the whole, Mr. Charles Maguire, whose personal experiences as a tramp furnished valuable first-hand aid to Mr. Jernigan, has produced very good information, if in rather scrappy and disjointed form. The chapter on "Water Transit" would be admirable were it not for the large number of misspellings, such as *Puk'usi* for *P'u-k'wei* (pp. 347, etc.), *Maochr* for *Mao-êrh* (pp. 356, etc.), *Kailing* for *Kia-ling* (pp. 339, etc.), *Shin-hing* for *Shiu-hing* (p. 342), and very many others. The last chapter on "Railway Transit" is particularly complete and valuable.

In sum, Mr. Jernigan's virtues are all his own; his vices partly those of Mr. Kingsmill, and partly the result of "ignorance, sir, sheer ignorance." A second edition, overhauled by a despised "twenty-years-in-the-country-and-know-the-language-man," would double the value of this useful publication, which, even as it stands, is in general business worth far ahead of most of the hasty productions which have lately flooded the market.—E. H. PARKER.

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JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, 1905.

10. *Women and Wisdom of Japan*, with an Introduction by SHINGORO TAKIISHI (Wisdom of the East Series). This little handbook deals with a wide subject within a small compass. The translations are new and valuable. They delineate the analysis of the heart of a perfect Japanese woman of olden times, according to a Japanese man's standard of morality and praiseworthiness. Severe measures were instituted, we are told, because the power of woman over man was considered possible to become too subtle, if allowed to exist; hence arose the stern discipline of suppression, subjugation, and utter unselfishness expected to be suffered in silence by the weaker sex in the Far East. The Introduction by Shingoro Takiishi is of great interest, and prepares the way for the information that follows in sequence.—S.

11. *The Life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava*, by SIR ALFRED LYALL, P.C., with portraits and illustrations, in two volumes. Sir Alfred Lyall has been fortunate in having such a subject for his pen as the life of the late Lord Dufferin, and the latter has been equally fortunate in having such a biographer. The two volumes before us are all that a biography should be, giving a clear account of the personality of the man whose life is narrated, and also a vivid description of the times and scenes in which he lived and moved, and in which he proved so brilliant a figure.

Lord Dufferin, who described himself as a "Scotchman,

very much improved by being an Irishman for three hundred years," was born on February 21, 1826, and as the son of Price Lord Dufferin, succeeded to the headship and property of a family of Scottish settlers in Ulster, and from his beautiful mother he also inherited the good looks and brilliancy of the Sheridans. Losing his father early, it was Helen Lady Dufferin who became the companion, councillor, and friend of his early life, and to his mother he owed much. He was appointed a Lord-in-Waiting in 1849, and, deciding to embrace a life of politics, he was made an English Peer as Baron Clandeboyne.

Ireland and its agrarian troubles, even in his Oxford days, interested him, and in 1854 he became absorbed in the introduction of a Bill on tenant right into the House of Lords. He was a *persona grata* with Queen Victoria, and travelled much, and it is to this period that we owe the delightful "Letters from High Latitudes." He travelled in Egypt and Syria, and in 1860, when trouble broke out in the Lebanon, he was very naturally appointed British Representative in the Joint Commission there, and it was in this Mission that we first find displayed "the judgment, firmness, and generosity" which were so characteristic, and in it he obtained much knowledge of the Pashas, their ways, and those of Oriental peoples. Offered the Government of Bombay on his return, he refused it for his mother's sake; and in 1862, five years before his mother died, married Miss Harriot Hamilton Rowan, who was to become so well known in Indian philanthropy as his wife, and it was to his marriage that he was to owe all his later happiness. In 1864 he was made Under-Secretary of State for India, and then of the War Office; and after filling many other important posts, was in 1872 appointed Governor-General of Canada. Lord Dufferin had to face many problems in Canada—race problems, the Pacific Railway difficulty, and American jealousy; yet he overcame them all, and was able to leave in 1881 with many expressions of praises of the "unselfish loyalty" of

the whole of Canada. After this success, Lord Dufferin was sent as Ambassador to Russia, where the Emperor Alexander was assassinated, and then to Turkey, and later was Commissioner in Egypt at the time when Arabi Pasha's rising was the cause of difficulty and danger to the British occupation. At this juncture Lord Dufferin showed his usual tact—very necessary in a "veritable Khedive de l'Egypte"—and was in 1884 rewarded by being made Viceroy of India. Sir Alfred Lyall is at his best in the part of the work dealing with India. He shows how Lord Dufferin at once intimated that there would be no reversal of Lord Ripon's friendly policy towards the natives. He describes how the Viceroy grappled with the agrarian difficulties, and with what success he established friendly relations with Afghanistan, and completed the Russo-Afghan demarcation.

The conquest and annexation of Burma occurred during Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty, and on account of this enormous increase of territory to the Empire he received, by special favour of the Queen, the Marquisate of Ava. Among the great questions in India to the Viceroy was how far constitutional concessions were to be granted to Indian reformers; again the decentralising movement that he favoured has, it is shown, been followed by good results. Making over the Viceroyalty to Lord Lansdowne in 1888, Lord Dufferin became Ambassador at Rome, and we have interesting glimpses of Italy's Red Sea policy and of diplomatic society. The Embassy to France followed in 1892, and he occupied that last official post in his long career until 1896. The two sad last years of Lord Dufferin's life are sympathetically touched upon, and the biography ends with an admirable character sketch of its subject, which shows to every reader his dignity, readiness, intelligence, and charm.—F. S.

SARODA RAY; OMRAOGARY, MURSHIDABAD, 1905.

12. *The Musnud of Murshidabad (1704-1904), being a Synopsis of the History of Murshidabad for the Last Two Centuries, to which are appended Notes of Places and Objects of Interest at Murshidabad.* Compiled by PURNA CH. MAJUMDAR, copiously illustrated. This very carefully compiled synopsis ought to command much attention, as it is a compendium descriptive of the places and objects of much interest of what may be said to be the birthplace and cradle of British rule in India. Travellers and visitors, from the increased improvements in railway and other means of travel, will now have an opportunity of inspecting the various places of interest in this famous district. The work is full of excellent portraits and other illustrations, which add a charm to the compilation. Besides a preface and introduction, Part I. contains a list of the Nawabs with their titles, and Part II. contains no fewer than upwards of 100 illustrations and descriptions of temples, mosques, palaces, gardens, historic houses, tombs, and other objects of the greatest interest to travellers, sightseers, and historians. There are also a plan of the battle of Plassey, as well as portraits of Lord Clive and Warren Hastings, an appendix of historical documents, numerous genealogical tables, and a copious index. The synopsis is concluded with the following soliloquy by the learned compiler: "As the visitor, fatigued with the troubles of his travels, sits to rest on the terrace of the Neoara house, astonished at the majestic scenery and admiring the glorious sights that are presented to his vision by the Nizamut Killah on the bank opposite, bathed in the soft but effulgent rays of the setting sun, its towers and turrets reflected on the silvery stream that flows by, his eyes riveted on the picture before him, and his mind absorbed with an eventful past, his ears catch the sound of sweet music from the bandstand of the Killah, from which emanate, as are destined to emanate for all time to come, the majestic strains of *Rule Britannia* and *GOD SAVE THE KING.*"

SMITH, ELDER & Co. ; LONDON.

13. *The Story of an Indian Upland*, by F. B. BRADLEY-BIRT, B.A., I.C.S., with twenty illustrations and a map, and an introduction by the Hon. H. H. RISLEY, C.S.I., C.I.E. It is delightful to read this masterly sketch of a little-known district of India. Written in a clear, pleasant style, the author has put before us an excellent account of two Dravidian races, who, though arriving there at very different times, now dwell near each other in the district called the Daman-i-Koh—the skirt of the Hills of Rajmahal—and the Santal Parganas. The older of these races, the Paharias, have dwelt in these hills from time immemorial, and have escaped alike the Hindu domination of the Kingdom of Gaur, and the later Mussulman Empires in Bengal and Delhi. Occupying the jungle-covered hills as a primitive people with few wants, they regarded the settled populations of the plains solely as foreigners, to be avoided, or plundered. The Zemindars in the plains certainly, in later times, attempted to bribe them into friendship, and historic ground begins, when, in 1756, tired of continual inroads, they treacherously massacred a large number of Paharia chiefs at the ceremonial banquet. Shortly after that the British appeared in Rajmahal, and their first knowledge of the Paharias was unpleasant, as the latter continued to rob their subjects, and particularly the mails. In 1778, Captain Browne instituted a sensible outpost of invalid Jagirs for retired soldiers to act as a buffer state ; but it was the coming, in 1779, of Augustus Cleveland that brought the Paharias into complete and harmonious subjection. Cleveland's short career of only a few years is excellently narrated, and his memory well deserves such a sympathetic account. He was one of those men—born leaders of men—dear to the heart of Warren Hastings, and he not only brought the Paharias under the British ráj, but as “Chilmili” his memory is still beloved by them. It was he who gave the Paharias a separate government suited to their isolation,



and the corps of hillmen he raised as guardians of their own lands proved more than efficient for the purpose. Cleveland died in 1784, and the chief succeeding political events when his system of government was once established were the changes in the delimitation of the district. But before this another of the aboriginal races—this time a wandering one—the Santals, had come into the neighbourhood, and after 1836 they were permitted to occupy the debateable lands at the foot of the Paharias' hills. Once settled as cultivators they should have flourished in peace, but the exactions and oppressions of Zemindar and Mahajan ground them down. They rebelled in 1855, and were not reduced until after prolonged fighting and terrific slaughter, and it was only then discovered that they were fighting not against the British, but against the evils of money-lending. Since then, in spite of mysterious "movements," they have been—on the whole—quiet. Christian missions have made some progress, and Hinduising has commenced in some of the tribes, though the great mass are still unchanged in manners and customs. Two chapters, "The Yearly Round in Sagarbhanga," and "Life in a Paharia Village," tell of the life, festivals, and customs of the Santals and Paharias respectively, and they tell of them well. Moreover, Appendix II. gives the names of the Santal septs and sub-septs for the anthropologist. The last chapter in the work deals with an account of Deoghar—the "House of God," the sacred city of the Hindus, which, legend says, was founded by Rahan, King of Lonka and is a place of pilgrimage on account of its holy lake, is not the least attractive part of a fascinating book. Mr. Bradley-Birt is again to be congratulated on his success in adding a notable work to Anglo-Indian literature.—F. S.

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SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE ;  
NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, LONDON, W.C.

14. *The Original Sources of the Qur'ân*, by the REV.  
W. ST. CLAIR TISDALL, M.A., D.D., author of "The Religion

of the Crescent," etc. This work is intended for students of comparative religion, and is the result of many years' study of the various Oriental religions, ancient and modern. He points out the difference of the Qur'ân and the traditions as follows: "The Qur'ân is styled 'Recited Revelations,' and the Traditions as the 'Unrecited Revelation,' because the Qur'ân, and it alone, is considered to constitute the very utterance of God Himself. Hence the rule that has been laid down that any Tradition, however authenticated it may be, that is clearly contrary to a single verse of the Qur'ân, must be rejected." The author very clearly narrates when and how the Qur'ân was first put together in a collected whole, and his conclusion is, after a very long and patient research and examination, that "we still have the Qur'ân as Muhammad left it, and hence we may, with almost perfect certainty as to the correctness of the text, proceed to study the book, to ascertain what he taught, and whence he derived the various statements and doctrines which are contained in the Qur'ân, and explained and amplified in the Traditions, as constituting the religion of Islam." On these principles, which the author has closely followed, the reader will appreciate the excellency of the work. He concludes as follows: "It is not too much to say that in the minds of his followers Muhammad holds as important a place as Jesus Christ does in those of Christians. The influence of his example for good or ill affects the whole Muhammadan world in even the smallest matters, and few men have played a more momentous part in the religious, moral, and political history of the human race than the founder of Islam." There is, attached to the work, a very useful index.

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T. FISHER UNWIN; PATERNOSTER SQUARE, LONDON, 1905.

15. *Ethiopia in Exile; Jamaica Revisited*, by B. PULLEN-BURRY, author of "Jamaica as it is," etc. The author's book on Jamaica has been described as "entertaining" and

its information "interesting." The present work is the outcome of the author's "absence from England extending over several months, during which period he had paid a second visit to the island. On his way thither he made a somewhat prolonged tour through Canada, the United States, and Cuba." Probably what he narrates about the United States is the most interesting. We shall refer chiefly to his chapter on "The Negro under American Rule," and particularly to the institution, founded and carried on by Booker Washington, for the education of the negro race. The prejudice and hatred of the whites against the blacks are as strong and vivid as ever in certain quarters. It is called the "Tuskegee Institute," with all kinds of buildings, schools, workshops, dining-rooms, library, halls, cottages, and residences for teachers—in short, every accommodation requisite for carrying on a great scheme of industrial education. It is largely attended by students. The result is highly satisfactory, not only to the founder, but also to the enlightened donors who have contributed to the institution. The author asserts that "notwithstanding the outcry against the educated negro, the fact is undeniable that the southern white people place three times as much value on the services of an educated negro as they place upon the service of an uneducated one. This holds good with the young women also, who secure temporary work as domestic servants during vacation time. Considering the strenuous nature of the life during the three years' course at Tuskegee, where the work of the day begins at 7 a.m. and continues till 5 p.m., allowing intervals only for meals, with two hours' attendance at evening classes afterwards, and the hard work often required of them in the vacations, one is compelled to admit that there must be sterling qualities beneath the dusky skins." The volume is eminently interesting, and contains much valuable information on the various places visited by the author.

16. *The Story of my Struggles.* The Memoirs of

ARMINIUS VAMBÉRY, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Budapest. Two vols., with illustrations of the author. This is a remarkable biography of a man, who from the direst poverty and other disadvantages, became in languages, literature, and politics, a high authority on many matters connected with affairs in Central Asia and in Europe. His indomitable perseverance, stimulated and guided by a devout and devoted mother and a kind Providence, enabled him not only to overcome all difficulties, but to erect for himself one of the finest monuments in our time of a self-made man. With great modesty, consistent with great achievements, he writes in his own words—"the various stages of my life have been passed in various countries and societies, and a personal record of men and events, dating from half a century back, may not be without interest in the present generation. Unchecked by conventional modesty and false shame, I have related all I went through in plain and unadorned words, and if I have not concealed facts relating to my very humble origin, and to the mistakes I committed, neither have I thought it necessary to leave unmentioned the result of my labours and the honours entailed by them. It is now forty years ago since I had first the honour of coming before the British public, and my desire to be thoroughly known by it may be pardoned." In this spirit and with this motive he has written his memoir. The contents of the first volume relates to his antecedents and infancy; his juvenile struggles; his experience and incidents as a private tutor (at a very early age); his first and second journeys to the East; and his return to Europe. The second volume contains his narrative from London to Budapest; his political career and position in England; the triumph of his labours; his impressions at the English Court; his intercourse with Sultan Abdul Hamid; his intercourse with Nasreddin Shah and his successor; and an admirable summary of his whole life. He concludes by saying: "My eye is still undimmed and my memory still clear, and even as in past

years, so now two worlds with all their different countries, peoples, cities, morals, and customs rise up before my eyes. As the bee flies from one flower to another, so my thoughts wander from Europe to Asia and back again. Everywhere I feel at home; from all sides well-known faces smile recognition; all sorts of people talk to me in their mother-tongue. Thus encompassing the wide world, feasting one's eyes on the most varied scenery—this, indeed, is a delight reserved for travellers only, for travelling is decidedly the greatest and noblest enjoyment in all the world. And so I have no reason to complain of my lot, for if my life was hard the reward was abundant also, and now at the end of it I can be fully satisfied with the result of my struggles."

The illustrations in the first volume are portraits of the author at the ages of eighteen and seventy, and in the second, those after his return from Central Asia, and with his Tartar, 1864. There are literary appendices, relating to European and Asiatic echoes of his incognito travels, and his scientific, linguistic, literary activity, ethnology, religious beliefs, social reforms, and other very interesting subjects.

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### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*Aggressive Hinduism*, by the SISTER NIVDITA (MARGARET E. NOBLE), of Ramakrishna - Vivekananda, author of the "Web of Indian Life." (G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras.) This is a very clever and able contribution, reprinted from the *Indian Review*, advocating aggressive steps for higher and world-wide education on the part of the enlightened Hindu. It is republished in such a form and at such a small price as to enable friends to give the essay a very wide circulation. The important object of the writer may be understood from the following closing paragraph: "Strong as the thunder-bolt, austere as *brahmacharya*, great-hearted and selfless, such should be

that *Sannyas*, and not less than this should be the son of a militant Hinduism."

*Folklore of the Telegus*: A Collection of Forty-two Highly-amusing and Instructive Tales, by G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU. (G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras.) These short tales appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, and are now for the first time appearing in book-form. In the introduction the writer says truly there is a fascination to the child listening to the tales of its grandmother, and a desire to hear another story and a kiss. These pleasant incidents adds a charm to life, and are long remembered, while more recent events are blotted from the memory. The saying is "that the child becomes a philosopher on its mother's knee." The author states that "the blending of the natural with the supernatural has so taken possession of the Telegu mind, that there can be no gloomier form of infidelity than that which questions the moral attributes of the Almighty." The perusal of these simple tales will both amuse and instruct the reader.

*Plague in India*, being a paper read on May 18, 1905, before the Indian Section of the Society of Arts, by CHARLES CREIGHTON, M.D., author of "A History of Epidemics in Britain." Reprinted (by permission) by the Leigh-Brown Endowment. (George Bell and Sons, York House, Portugal Street, London, W.C.) This paper embodies the results of a special journey which this eminent specialist took for the purpose of investigating the external aspects of the plague in India. It is accompanied with maps, showing the areas, etc., of the plague. There is also a short report of the discussion which took place on the paper.

*Annual Report of the Director-General of Archæology for the Year 1903-1904*. Part I. (Office of the Superintendent of the Government Printing Press, Calcutta, 1905.) The progress of the Archæological Survey during the year has been steady in all its branches and its staff strengthened. Besides what have been found, various

coins, seals, inscriptions, images, jewellery, etc., have been purchased.

*Annual Report of the Reformatory School at Yeravda for 1904.* (Printed at the Government Central Press, Bombay, 1905.) The number of boys detained at the end of the year was 158, classified according to race and religion as follows: Native Christians, 3; Mahomedans, 33; Bráhmins, 9; Low Castes, 27; other Hindus, 86. The system of education continues the same as that during the past three years—vernacular reading, writing, and arithmetic.

*Observations upon the Inscriptions of Nabonidus concerning Naram Sins' Foundation-Stone*, by the REV. F. A. JONES, Ilford. (Printed for the author and published by the Kingsgate Press, 4, Southampton Row, London, W.C., 1905.) These suggestions offer proof that 3,200 years was the perfectly regular Babylonian form for expressing somewhere about 2,346 B.C., and that Nabonidus could have expressed it in no other way without betraying the secret method of the priests for dates before the first Elamite invasion, being the method then current involving the inclusion in one sum two different modes of expressing the facts. The writer fortifies his suggestions by various quotations and interesting calculations.

*A Report on a Second Collection of Coins from Malacca.* By R. HANITSCH, PH.D., with one plate. This is a paper reprinted from the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The coins referred to are Portuguese, issued probably by King Emmanuel and John III. They have on the obverse the cross, and on the reverse the sphere. There have also been found twenty-five Malay coins, most of them too much worn to be deciphered.

*The Fifth Financial and Economical Annual of Japan*, 1905. (The Department of Finance. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Tokyo.) The contents of this volume are important and interesting. There are, *first*, an exceedingly well-executed map of Japan, and

ingeniously coloured diagrams, showing at a glance revenue and expenditure, sources of revenue and expenditure under various heads and aspects, values of imports and exports, loans of various kinds, traffic mileage of State and private railways, shipping and shipyards, weights, measures, and moneys, and their equivalents in English and French. *Second*, there are statements and tables innumerable of finance, agricultural, industry and commerce, banking and money market, railway and other communications, and with an appendix exhibiting the chief economic conditions of the country, the import tariff, and the various departments which are under the control of the Minister of Finance. The work deserves a minute study by all commercial bodies and others interested in the country.

*Climate: a Quarterly Journal of Health and Travel*, edited by CHARLES P. HARFORD. M.A., M.D., July, 1905. (Travellers' Health Bureau, Leyton, London, E.) This very useful publication in its July number contains an excellent article by the editor on the different fevers in the tropical climates, and hints as to their diagnosis; also articles by Colonel Hendley, C.I.E., I.M.S. (retired), on "Health of Europeans in India"; "Leprosy," by Leopold Hill, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.; "Kala-azar," by Louis W. Sambon, M.D., Naples, an epidemic sometimes called the "black sickness"; and "A New Form of Tropical Clothing."

*The Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893). (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.) *Proceedings*, May, June, and July, 1905; printed for the Society. The object of this Society is to promote the study of the Russian language and literature, to form a library of Russian books, to hold periodical meetings, and to promote friendly relations between Great Britain and Russia. The present report contains interesting articles on the "Beauties of Russian Literature," "Russia and the Jews," "The Spirit of Ancient Russia in Modern Art," and various other objects and interesting information. The Hon. Secretary is Mr. Edward A. Cazalet.



*The Life of Father Dolling*, by CHARLES E. OSBORNE, Vicar of Seghill, Northumberland. (George Newnes, Limited, Southampton Street, London, W.C., 1905.) This is a new and cheap (6d.) edition of the life of a well-known Christian philanthropist. The profits on the sale of this edition, like those of the large and expensive edition, will be devoted to the funds of the Dolling Memorial Home, Worthing.

*Murby's "Science and Art Department"*:—Series of Text Books. *Mineralogy*, by FRANK RUTLEY, F.G.S., late Lecturer on Mineralogy in the Royal College of Science, London. Fourteenth edition, revised and corrected. (Thomas Murby and Co., 3, Ludgate Circus Buildings, London, E.C.) In the thirteenth edition of this useful handbook important additions were made, and the present (fourteenth) edition has again been carefully revised and corrected. There is an interesting and important article on "Radio-Active Elements," by Mr. Ernest Howard Adye, advisory hints to students, and a minute index.

*A Pāli Reader*, with Notes and Glossary, by DINES ANDERSEN, PH.D., Professor at the University of Copenhagen. Part II., Glossary (first half). (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag; Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz; London: Luzac and Co., Great Russell Street, W.C., 1904-1905.) A very useful and well-printed Glossary, the second half of which will appear in the beginning of the year, when we hope to give a full account of the work.

*Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institute*, showing the Operations, Expenditures, and Condition of the Institution for the Year ending June 30, 1903. "Report of the United States National Museum" (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905). The contents of this magnificent volume are specially interesting. Besides the reports above indicated, it contains, in Part II., short descriptive and beautifully illustrated accounts of the buildings of the United States National Museum, museums and kindred institutions of

New York City, Albany, Buffalo, Chicago, and National Museums in England and in European cities.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Captain*, *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine*;—*Technics*, a magazine for technical students;—*A Technological and Scientific Dictionary*, edited by G. F. Goodchild, B.A., and C. F. Tweney;—*C. B. Fry's Magazine*;—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Company, Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review*;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals Defender* (92, Victoria Street, London, S.W.);—*Sphinx*. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, publiée par Karl Piehl (Upsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln, C. J. Lundström; London: Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden);—

*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales.* Revue de politique extérieure, paraissant le 1<sup>er</sup> et le 15 de chaque mois (Paris : Rue Bonaparte 19) ;—*The Rapid Review* (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.) ;—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.) ;—*The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C. ; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh ; Edward Ponsonby, Dublin) ;—*The British Empire Review*, the organ of the British Empire League, a non-partisan monthly magazine for readers interested in Imperial and Colonial affairs and literature (The British Empire League, 112, Cannon Street, London, E.C.) ;—*Climate*, a quarterly journal of Health and Travel, edited by C. F. Hartford, M.A., M.D. (Travellers' Health Bureau, Leyton, E. ; and Castle, Lamb and Storr, 33, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, E.C.) ;—*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.* Revue philologique, paraissant tous les trois mois, vol. iv., No. 3 (Hanoi : F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1904) ;—*The Wednesday Review* of politics, literature, society, science, etc. (S. M. Raja Ram Rao, editor and proprietor, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly, Madras) ;—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road) ;—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), May, June, and July, 1905 (the Imperial Institute, London, S.W.) ;—*The Hindu* (published at the National Press, 100, Mount Road, Madras) ;—*The Christian Patriot* (the M. E. Press, Mount Road, Madras).

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We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works : *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, by the late E. J. W. Gibb, M.R.A.S., vol. iv., edited by Edward G. Browne, M.A., M.B. (London : Luzac and Co., Great Russell Street, 1905) ;—Part I. of the

*Tadhkiratu 'L-Awliyá* ("Memoirs of the Saints"), edited by Reynold A. Nicholson, M.A. (Luzac and Co., 1905);—*S'ri Brahma Dhàrà* ("Shower from the highest"), through the favour of the Mahatma S'ri Agamya Guru Paramahansa (London: Luzac and Co., 1905);—*Hebrew Humour and other Essays*, by J. Chotzner, PH.D. (London: Luzac and Co., 1905);—*Rifle and Romance in the Indian Jungle*: a record of thirteen years, by Captain A. I. R. Glasfurd (John Lane, The Bodley Head, London, and New York, 1905);—*The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches*, by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois (London: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 16, James Street, Haymarket, 1905);—*The Far Eastern Tropics*: Studies of the administration of tropical dependencies, by Alleyne Ireland, F.R.G.S. (Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 1905);—*The Maintenance of Health in the Tropics*, by W. J. Simpson, M.D., F.R.C.P. (John Bale, Sons, and Danielsson, Ltd., Oxford House, 83-91, Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, W., 1905);—*Indian Love*, by Laurence Hope (London: W. Heinemann; New York: John Lane, 1905);—*The Mahabharata: A Criticism*, by C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL.B. (A. J. Combridge and Co., Bombay, and 31, Newgate Street, London, 1905);—An abridged translation of the *History of Tabaristan*, compiled about A.H. 613 (A.D. 1216), by Muhammad B. Al-Hasan B. Isfandiyar, based on the India Office MS., compared with two MSS. in the British Museum, by Edward G. Browne, M.A., M.B. (London: Bernard Quaritch, 15, Piccadilly; Leyden: E. J. Brill, Imprimerie Orientale, 1905);—*The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate-Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia—from the Moslem Conquest to the Time of Timur*, by G. Le Strange, author of "Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate," etc. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1905);—*The Ring from Jaipur*, by F. M. Peard (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 15, Waterloo Place, 1905);—*The Gold and Silver Wares of Assam*. A monography, by F. C. Hanniker, I.C.S. 1S. 1905.

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—Lord Curzon as Viceroy having on August 20 resigned, the Earl of Minto was appointed his successor.

Copious rains have fallen in Rajputana and other drought-affected districts, followed by heavy floods.

The Government has decided that, from October 1, one anna and half anna postage-stamps, at present in use, may be utilized either for postal purposes or for payment of stamp-duty. It is also notified that, from the same date, pen-marked stamps, or stamps bearing on their face dates or initials or writing of any kind, will not be accepted by the post-office in payment of postage.

Bengal has been divided into two provinces, in consequence of which considerable feeling has been exhibited by natives, both Muhammadan and Hindu. At Dacca, the capital of the new province, at a largely attended meeting a resolution was passed to petition the Secretary of State to appoint an English statesman as Governor of Bengal.

Mr. J. B. Fuller has been appointed first Lieutenant-Governor of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

The scarcity of rain prevailing early in the year in Madras, and the bad season, has caused a great fall in the revenue. Up to the end of May only 208½ lacs were collected, as against 221¾ lacs in the corresponding period of last year. There is also a decrease of 12 lacs in the land revenue.

Exports and imports for 1904-1905 : There is an increase in the imports, chiefly due to sugar machinery, raw cotton, and textile manufactures. Exports were 3 per cent. higher than last year. The grain trade has increased in volume by 32 per cent., and in value by 851 lacs, of which wheat accounts for 698 lacs. The total of grain and pulse was of

the value of 4,111 lacs, or 26·7 per cent. of the total value of the exports.

The Mahars, a Bombay caste, have petitioned the Viceroy praying for the admission of their men into the ranks of the native army and police.

Mr. John William Pitt Muir Mackenzie, I.C.S., has been appointed member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay in succession to Sir James Monteath, K.C.S.I., whose term of service has expired.

INDIA : NATIVE.—The next sittings of the Muhammadan Educational Conference will be held at Aligarh in December next. At a committee meeting held last June, Khalifah Muhammad Husain Khan, Mumtaz-ul-Mulk, Mushir-ed-Dowlah, of Patiala, was unanimously elected president. The finances of the College are most flourishing, the income for last year amounting to 1,24,047 rupees, whilst donations and subscriptions for buildings amounted to 1,23,499 rupees.

The coming of age (twenty-first birthday) of H.H. the Maharaja of MAISUR was celebrated in July last with much pomp and ceremony.

It has been decided by Government to entrust the Maharaja of JAMMU and KASHMIR with a larger measure of administrative responsibility than he at present possesses. The State Council will be abolished.

The Jairi Students' Institute, erected by Sheth Manikchand Pawachand of Bombay, was opened by H.H. the Maharaja of KOLAPORE on August 9.

Mr. Brojendro Nath Seal, head of the COOCH BEHAR College, a well-known Indian savant, has been appointed Director of Public Instruction of Cooch Behar.

The small State of SANDUR has, during the minority of its Raja, returned to financial prosperity. The State debts are being rapidly paid off, the Treasury is full, and a new source of revenue is being exploited in the form of manganese deposits, which are let out for mining.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—The mission to Bhutan under

Mr. Claude White has been successful in discharging its duties, and has now returned to India.

The bridge across the Hunza River has been swept away by a very high flood on August 2. The road between Chalt and Gilgit has also sustained much damage.

CEYLON.—His Excellency Sir Henry Blake, the Governor, is taking three months home leave. During his absence the Hon. Mr. Ashmore, the Lieutenant-Governor, will administer the Government, and the Hon. Mr. G. M. Fowler, Acting Auditor-General, will act as Colonial Secretary.

The Registrar-General has estimated the population of the Colony on March 31 last at 3,836,350.

Colonel R. C. B. Lawrence, A.A.G. at Aldershot will succeed Brigadier-General Money this month as General Officer Commanding Ceylon.

AFGHANISTAN.—Great activity by the Afghans has been shown lately in the Province of Badakhshan. A new cantonment is being built in the Kokaha Valley, and new roads are being constructed to the Afghan outposts on the Oxus. Sardar Hayātullah Khan, half-brother of H. H. the Amir is the governor.

PERSIA.—H. I. M. the Shah arrived in Vienna in June last on his way to Contrexeville.

Prince Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan, 'Alā-es-Saltanah, Persian Minister at the Court of St. James's, and head of a special mission to England with the temporary rank of Ambassador, has been decorated by H. M. the King with the Honorary Knighthood of the Grand Cross of the Royal Victoria Order.

H. I. M. whilst at Vichy received in audience Abdullah Al-Mâmun Al-Suhrawardy, founder of the Imperial Pan-Islamic Society, whose scheme of building a Pan-Islamic mosque in London he expressed approval of. Members of the Shah's suite, which included Haji Āgā Amin-ul-Zarb, and Āgā Muin-ul-Tujjār, subscribed over 2,000 tomans towards the funds.

H. I. M. returned to Persia in September viâ St. Petersburg, where he was received by the Tsar and Grand Dukes.

PERSIAN GULF AND MASKAT.—The Hague Tribunal's award in the Anglo-French arbitration has decided that, as from January 1892, France has not the right to authorize subjects of the Sultan of Maskat to fly the French flag, unless such subjects were under French protection before 1863.

TURKEY IN ASIA: YEMEN.—It is reported that Turkish troops under Faizi Pasha occupied Sana on September 5 without opposition. The Arabs had diverted the Turkish attention whilst they destroyed the Government palace, the barracks, and other public buildings, and removed their stores of grain.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—The Orenburg-Tashkand railway is now open for passenger and goods traffic.

JAPAN AND RUSSIA.—Through the eminent services of Mr. Roosevelt, the President of the United States of America, both belligerent Governments agreed to meet and arrange terms of peace in America. Portsmouth, New Hampshire, was the place chosen, and there the delegates of both Governments met—M. Witte on behalf of Russia, and Baron Komura on behalf of Japan—and drew up a treaty composed of a short preamble and certain articles, the substance of which will be found in our pages under the heading "Correspondence, Notes, and News." This treaty was signed on September 5, subject to formal ratification by the Tsar and Mikado.

General Linievitch, at Guntzuling, the Russian headquarters, has received a notification from Marshal Oyama proposing a meeting and an arrangement for an armistice, pending the ratification of the Treaty of Peace.

JAPAN.—Subscriptions to the fourth Japanese domestic loan amounted to 500,000,000 yen (£50,000,000), of which 77,000,000 yen were subscribed above the issue price. The foreign subscriptions aggregated 79,000,000 yen, English and Americans being the chief contributors.



On receipt of the particulars of the Treaty of Peace in Japan great indignation was shown at the result, which many conceived was unfavourable to Japan, owing to the Government not having pressed the demand for an indemnity. Riots occurred in the capital and provinces, and many persons were killed and injured. As we go to press, the riotous proceedings have subsided and order has been restored.

CHINA.—The Government has decided to pay the Boxer Indemnity to all the Powers concerned in gold, by telegraphic transfer, except Russia, who has agreed to receive payment in silver.

Owing to complaints of bad treatment towards Chinese subjects and travellers in the United States, a boycott of American goods was instituted all over China. The Government has issued an Edict advising people to cease from preventing the purchase and use of American goods until after Congress meets, when this state of affairs may be considered and remedied.

This boycott has paralyzed the American flour trade from the Pacific coast ports.

EGYPT AND THE SUDAN.—Heavy rain-storms during August last have produced some splendid crops. A portion of the Sudan railway was, at the same time, washed away.

There passed through the Suez Canal in 1904, 4,237 vessels of a net tonnage of 13,401,835 tons, as compared with 3,761 vessels of 11,907,288 tons in 1903. The transit receipts have risen from 103,620,268 francs in 1903 to 115,818,479 francs in 1904, the highest total since the opening of the Canal. The original tariff for laden ships was 10 francs per ton in 1869. Its present rate is 8fr. 50c. On January 1 next the rate will be reduced to 7fr. 75c. Of 4,237 vessels, 2,672 were British.

EAST AFRICA: UGANDA.—In the entire period, from the commencement of the railway up to March 31, 1904, the expenditure was £5,459,287. The total receipts during that period were £99,216, and a sum of £20,000 having been provided for by vote in 1895-1896, the total net

expenditure chargeable upon monies provided under the Acts of 1896 and 1902 is £5,340,070. The total net expenditure has exceeded the issues from the Consolidated Fund by £29,070, which sum has been temporarily met out of balances in the hands of the accounting officer in East Africa.

TRANSVAAL.—One vote one value (in the Franchise) will be adhered to. The Congress of Het Volk, early in July, resolved on an attempt to persuade the Government to amend the new Constitution.

Sir Arthur Lawley opened the session of the Legislative Council at Pretoria on July 18.

The estimates for 1905-1906 show a surplus of £87,480. A railway conference between the Cape Colony and the Natal Governments, and the High Commissioner has been held.

The exports for the half year ended June 30 amounted to £11,305,979. The principal exports being—gold, £10,076,369; diamonds, £628,142; and wool, £37,116.

The death is announced of Lerothodi, Paramount Chief of BASUTOLAND, a native governor of statesman-like mind, and for many years faithful in his devotion to British rule in South Africa.

WEST COAST OF AFRICA: NORTHERN NIGERIA.—Trouble has broken out with the Amirate of Hadeija, to the east of Kano. A force has been collected to operate against it.

AUSTRALASIA: COMMONWEALTH.—In the Federal House of Representatives, on August 22, Sir John Forrest, the Finance Minister, in the course of his speech, said that the total revenue of the Commonwealth for the past financial year amounted to £11,460,000, being £109,000 below the estimate. The estimated revenue for the current year is £11,387,000. The estimated expenditure for this year amounts to £4,606,000, and the surplus returnable to the States to £6,784,000. The following are the principal increases in expenditure: Naval contribution, £51,000; increased bounty on locally-grown sugar, £25,000; defence,

£25,000; posts and telegraphs, £88,000; and new public works, £118,000. The total expense to Australia of Federation this year amounts to £297,000, being 1s. 5d. per head of the population.

VICTORIA.—In consequence of Mr. Deakin's motion of no confidence in the Government being carried by 42 to 25, Mr. Deakin succeeded Mr. Reid as Premier, and formed a new Cabinet as follows: Mr. Isaacs, Attorney-General; Sir William Lyne, Trade and Customs; Sir J. Forrest, Treasurer; Mr. Chapman, Postmaster-General; Mr. Playford, Defence; Mr. Groom, Home Affairs; Mr. Ewing, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council; and Mr. Keating without portfolios.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—The Assembly, last July, having voted a want of confidence in the Government, a new Ministry was formed as follows: Mr. T. Price, Premier, and Minister of Public Works and Education; Mr. A. Peake, Treasurer and Attorney-General; Mr. L. O'Loughlin, Lands, Mines and Agriculture; Mr. A. Kirkpatrick, Chief Secretary and Minister of Industry.

The revenue for the quarter ended March 31 last amounted to £776,128.

QUEENSLAND. — Lord Chelmsford has been appointed Governor in succession to Major-General Sir Herbert Charles Chermiside.

Parliament was opened on July 25.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—A new Ministry was formed in August, composed of the following: Mr. C. H. Rason, Premier and Minister of Justice; Mr. N. J. Moore, Lands and Agriculture; Mr. Frank Wilson, Minister of Works; Mr. W. Kingsmill, Colonial Secretary and Minister of Education; Dr. Hicks, Minister of Commerce and Labour; Mr. H. Gregory, Minister of Mines and Railways; Mr. L. Moss, without portfolio. The latter will superintend the Crown Law Department.

NEW ZEALAND.—Mr. Seddon, in the course of a speech, said that the Colony was the wealthiest country in the

world per head of population. It stood at £308 per inhabitant, while the United Kingdom only reached £302.

The sum of £1,000,000 is proposed to be raised on a loan for Public Works.

The estimated expenditure for the current year is £6,960,000, and the estimated revenue £7,467,000.

CANADA.—Magnificent crops have been reaped generally, especially in Manitoba and the North-West Territories. Mr. Roblin, Premier and Minister of Agriculture of Manitoba, after a visit of inspection, said that the total yields of wheat in Manitoba and the North-West was well over 100,000,000 bushels, being an average of over 25 bushels per acre. Ontario has yielded 18,467,043 bushels, or 23 per acre.

Lord Grey, the Governor-General, has been given the honorary title of Commander-in-Chief. His Excellency and Lady Grey, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, attended the inauguration of the new Province of Alberta, at Edmonton in September. This province comprises Alberta, the western half of Athabasca, and and a narrow strip of Saskatchewan and Assiniboia. The other province (Saskatchewan) consists of the eastern half of Athabasca and the major portion of the present territories of Assiniboia and Saskatchewan. Regina is the capital.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—For the fiscal year ending June, 1906, the revenue has been estimated at \$2,498,000, and the expenditure at \$2,470,000.

The coastwise whale fishery for last year has proved a financial failure.

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*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during the past quarter of the following:—Commander Arthur W. Chitty, C.I.E., late of the Indian Navy (operations in Sind 1842-43, Persian war 1856-57 and Mutiny);—Lieutenant-General Alexander Callander, late of the Bengal Army;—Major H. G. Daniel, late Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers (Nile

expedition 1884-85, North-West Frontier 1897-98);—Dr. William Thomas Blanford, F.R.S., LL.D., C.I.E., formerly of the Geological Survey of India (attached as geologist to the Abyssinian expedition 1868, Persian Boundary Commission 1872; President Geological Society, 1888);—Major-General F. O. Salusbury (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Burmese war 1852-53, Mutiny, North-West Frontier 1863);—Major-General de Symons Barrow (Mutiny suppression 1858-59);—Surgeon-General James Macnabb Cuninghame, C.S.I., M.D., LL.D., formerly of the Bengal Medical Service;—Captain Claude Clerk, C.I.E., formerly 2nd Madras Cavalry (Persian war 1855-56, Mission to Herat 1857-58);—Captain J. A. Forbes (Burmese war 1852, Baltic 1854-55);—Sir George Chetwode, formerly Lieutenant-Colonel 8th Hussars (Crimea and Mutiny);—Major-General Montague Protheroe, C.B., C.S.I., Madras Native Infantry 1858 (Abyssinia 1868, Afghan war 1878-80, Burma 1885);—Colonel W. Hughes-Hallett, of the Indian army (Burma 1886-87);—Colonel Sir John Farquharson, K.C.B., R.E.;—William Ford, C.S.I., Bengal Civil Service appointed 1843, retired 1869 (Mutiny);—Major Wilfred George Howard Marshall, Grenadier Guards (Sudan 1898, South Africa 1899-1902);—Mr. Alfred Waterhouse, R.A.;—The Grand Sherif of Mecca, Aun-ur-Rafiq Pasha (at Jiddah);—Major Douglas Drury Barnes, Superintendent of Police, British Honduras;—Mr. John Brown, C.E., C.M.G., Engineer-in-Chief of the Cape Government Railways;—Major Charles John Burgess, late 46th Foot and Military Knight of Windsor (Crimea);—Commander Reginald Henry Curteis, R.N., retired (Egyptian war 1882);—Lieutenant H. L. H. Fell, late R.N. of the Bahr-al-Ghazal province of the Sudan, Egyptian Army, and afterwards of the Sudan Civil Service (Nile expedition 1899, Nyam-Nyam expedition 1904-05);—The Rev. Ebenezer E. Jenkins, LL.D., ex-President Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (in India 1845-63);—The Rev. Thomas Lewis John Warneford, chaplain Calcutta Ecclesiastical Establishment (Afghan Field Force 1879-80,

Ghazni Field Force 1880-81);—Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., D.C.L., saw nearly forty years of public life in India in different appointments;—Captain Montagu Burrows, late R.N. and Professor of Modern History at Oxford (Malaysia, St. Jean d'Acre 1840);—Colonel Charles Henry Luard, Royal (late Bengal) Engineers, appointed 1855, retired 1889;—At Kabul, Sardar Ahmad Khan, ex-Governor of Qandahār and brother to the Afghan envoy to India;—Captain Wilfred Romney Rawlinson, Adjutant 1st Battalion King's Liverpool Regiment (South African war);—Major-General Sir George Robertson Hennessy, H.E.I.C.O.'s. Service 1854 (Mutiny, Afghan war 1878-80, Sudan 1885);—Shaikh Muhammad Abdu, Grand Mufti of Egypt;—Major-General A. A. Stewart (Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel H. Condon, formerly Indian Medical Service, Bengal, 1859, retired 1891;—Colonel G. W. Cox, late Madras army (Karen insurrection 1857);—Mr. A. L. V. Newbank, late Bengal Educational Service (principal of Patna College 1881-97);—General Sir Montagu Gerard, Indian Army (Abyssinia 1868, Afghan campaign 1878-80, Egyptian expedition 1882);—The Hon. Sir Ambrose Shea, K.C.M.G., of the Newfoundland Assembly 1850;—Mr. Henry Sotheran, a well-known publisher;—Lieutenant-General Somerset Molyneux Wiseman-Clarke, C.B. (Crimea, Relief of Lucknow 1857, and Mutiny campaign);—Mr. Alexander John Lawrence, C.I.E., late Bengal Civil Service, entered from Haileybury 1856;—Captain C. G. Hutchinson, Indian Army, in Burma;—Captain William Maloney, for some years Governor of the Military Knights of Windsor (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Burmese war 1852-53, Mutiny campaign);—Colonel C. W. J. Kingston, lately commanding 10th Regiment N.I. (Jāts) (Burma expedition 1887-89, Chen-Lushai 1889-90);—Colonel J. St. Leger (saw service in Shropshire Light Infantry in the Sutlej campaign of 1845-46);—Captain G. Bramwell, Bombay Staff Corps, retired (Persia 1857, Mutiny campaign 1858);—Captain Norman Nevill Bedingsfeld, late 60th King's Royal Rifle

Corps (Hazara, Miranzai, and Isazai expeditions 1891-92); Miss Elizabeth Adelaide Manning, Honorary Secretary National Indian Association;—Captain Edward Sausmarez Carey, drowned in Egypt (North-West Frontier campaign 1897-98, South African war);—Captain Charles Henry George Vesey Stores, North-West Frontier campaign and South Africa, also drowned in Egypt;—M. Jules Oppert, Member of the INSTITUTE and Professor at the COLLEGE DE FRANCE; a well-known Orientalist;—Mr. William Horniman, paymaster-in-chief, R.N. (St. Jean d'Acre, Baltic and Black Seas);—Mr. Lewis Charles Innes, late Judge, Madras High Court;—Commissary-General Leonce Routh, Deputy Assistant Commissary-General in Lower Canada 1839 (Crimea);—Khan Bahadur Muhammad Barikat Ali Khan, a well-known Rais of Lahore;—Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell Walter Hyslop, of the 93rd Highlanders, 1854 (Crimea, Mutiny);—Mr. Harold George Parsons, of the Colonial Service (Legislative Council, West Australia 1897, South African campaign, afterwards District Commissioner at Lagos);—Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Heathcote Stisted (Punjab campaign 1848-49, Crimea, Mutiny campaign, North-West Frontier 1863-64);—Mr. H. Irvin Blake, son of Sir Henry Blake, Governor of Ceylon;—Major-General William McConaghy, I.M.S.;—Major-General James Edmund Bacon Parsons, employed in the Punjab Commission (Mutiny).

*September 12, 1905.*



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